

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE AND REIGN
OF
PHILIP
KING OF MACEDON.

VOL. I.

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OF THE
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VOL. I.



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THE
HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE AND REIGN

OF

PHILIP

KING OF MACEDON;

THE FATHER OF ALEXANDER.

BY

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THE SECOND EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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THE
LIST OF
OF THE
LIFE AND REGION
OF

PHILIP

MINING OF MASONRY
THE FATHER OF ALL AND

THOMAS D.D.
FELLOW OF THE



THE SECOND EDITION
IN TWO VOLUMES

Printed for J. B. Johnson, in Strand, London.
1790.

P R E F A C E

THE

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THE histories of ancient times, which seem most likely to engage the general attention, are such as abound with extraordinary and surprising events, great and glaring actions, astonishing vicissitudes of fortune, and striking instances of success, apparently disproportioned to the powers and abilities, or even to the expectations, of those, whose bold attempts were thus wonderfully crowned. The history now presented to the reader, it must be confessed, is of another nature. It leads him on gradually through a series of actions and events, many of them seemingly inconsiderable, but all operating regularly to produce one of the greatest revolutions of

power, which the annals of the heathen world afford. The slow and painful steps, by which PHILIP king of Macedon warily and sagaciously proceeded, with a patient resolution, to strengthen and to aggrandize his kingdom, to incorporate it with the illustrious nation of Greece, to subdue that nation, and to place himself at the head of its united powers; as they discover no less merit and abilities than that rapidity of conquest, which casts such glory round his son, and other heroic characters; so they may possibly appear no less worthy of attention, although the detail be frequently addressed rather to the judgment than to the imagination.

In this case indeed, the task of the historian is by far more difficult: his errors and imperfections more obvious and striking. Great and surprising actions support themselves, and animate the writer with that spirit and energy with which they should

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be described. But to conduct the reader through the labyrinths of policy; to trace the progress of an artful, penetrating, and sagacious prince, surrounded with dangers and difficulties, exactly and incessantly attentive to his designs, and wisely chusing and proportioning his instruments and means to the great ends which he proposed; to disclose the latent causes of the declension and ruin of nations, of the grandeur of kings, and the establishment of empires;—these call for all the accuracy, all the judgment, of a writer.

In displaying the difficulties of his task, the author means not to insinuate, that he is possessed of any extraordinary abilities; but to bespeak the indulgence and pardon of the reader, for those imperfections, which his taste and judgment may, or rather must, necessarily discover in the following work; however the writer hath endeavoured, by a painful and laborious

application, to avoid the guilt of any essential omissions. And he may possibly appear to have a better claim to this indulgence, when it is considered from what a variety of authors the following history is collected; and that his materials lie detached, and dispersed through so many of the great writers of antiquity: which were to be collected with care, united with propriety, and reconciled, where they disagreed, with truth, or at least with the appearance of probability: a task which required attention and accuracy, and other still higher accomplishments.

THEOPOMPUS, an historian cotemporary with **PHILIP**, collected a large and copious account of this prince's actions, of which time hath unhappily deprived us. The fragments of this historian, which **Atheneus** hath preserved (if genuine) confirm the representations, which we find in ancient writers, of the severity and acrimony

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of Theopompus. Possibly, the corruption of those with whom Philip contended, as well as many parts of this prince's conduct, (whatever greatness of soul, or elevation of genius, he possessed) might have justly merited this severity. Had we not been deprived of his work, or even if Photius had transmitted to us the plan and general heads of his history, possibly we might have had many particulars both to admire and censure in this hero, which are now buried in eternal oblivion.

DIODORUS SICULUS, in his sixteenth book, hath given an abstract of the history of PHILIP, collected, not only from Theopompus, but some other ancient writers, whose names only have descended to us. His detail is frequently interrupted by the history of the affairs of Sicily; so as, in some sort, to distract the attention of the reader, by the variety of objects. But this cannot so properly be censured as a fault, since

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Since the scheme of his history was general, and, whatever errors or omissions may be discovered in his account of PHILIP's actions, by comparing him with other writers, yet we must justly acknowledge our obligations to him, both as an historian, and as an accurate chronologer.

TROGUS POMPAEUS intitled his universal history, HISTORIA PHILIPPICA, either in imitation of Theopompus, or from a particular veneration for the king of Macedon. "Although he hath employed" (saith Olivier, an author of whom we shall immediately give some account) "but three
"books in reciting the actions of this
"prince; yet he was persuaded that these
"gave a new appearance to the affairs and
"interests of the world. And, in effect,
"the empires formed on the ruins of that
"of Alexander, owe their foundation to
"men trained up and taught by PHILIP.
"It is to be presumed, that Trogus pre-
"served

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“ served many particulars which his abbre-
 “ viator hath neglected. There is even a
 “ literal proof that this latter did not value
 “ himself on his accuracy. Among some
 “ ancient manuscripts is found a summary
 “ of the Philippic history, called Periochæ
 “ Trogi: from which it appears, that Ju-
 “ stin hath not contented himself with re-
 “ versing the order of facts, with omitting
 “ several essential ones, and adding others:
 “ but that he hath related some, in a man-
 “ ner totally different from his author.”—
 If this be so, it affords an additional reason
 to justify the author of this work, in some-
 times neglecting, and sometimes contro-
 verting, his authority.

AND, if Justin endeavoured to diffuse
 some portion of the spirit and acrimony of
 Demosthenes into the history of Trogius,
 Paulus Orosius hath proceeded somewhat
 further. His point was to prove, that the
 miseries and enormities of the pagan world
 exceeded

exceeded those which mankind felt, from the time that Christianity was first propagated: and his zeal to support his argument hath rendered his account of PHILIP's actions rather bordering on an invective, than a dispassionate history: although he hath collected the facts from Justin into a smaller compass, with sufficient art; and hath been rather more careful to preserve the order of time.

— THOUGH we have no life of PHILIP written by Plutarch; yet in those of Pelopidas, Phocion, Demosthenes, and Alexander, we have many particulars relative to this prince. And, had such a valuable piece of antiquity descended to us, we might have found it rather made up of private anecdotes, calculated for marking out the temper and character of PHILIP, than a regular detail of facts, which might fully explain the whole scheme and system of his conduct. In the lives of Phocion and Demosthenes,

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mosthenes, he seems, as usual, to suppose the reader already acquainted with the history of their time, which he relates in such a manner, as that no common reader, who hath not recourse to other works, can form a clear idea of it: and sometimes in a manner by no means consistent with other accounts of high authority. A regular and ample comment on his truly valuable Lives, to supply his defects, and to correct his inaccuracies as an historian, might make him to be read with greater satisfaction and utility. But, at present, the reader is to guard not only against these, but sometimes against his prejudices: at least, critics have attributed his unfavourable representations of PHILIP, in his Lives, to this latter cause. In his moral works, however, he frequently does him sufficient honour. He dwells on his maxims and fallies of wit, on the instances of his condescension and humanity, with seeming pleasure; and hath preserved many agreeable

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able anecdotes, which it would have been unpardonable in a modern compiler to pass over, whatever pains the collecting and introducing them might cost.

BESIDES the historians now mentioned, we are considerably indebted to others of the ancient writers, from whom many particulars are collected relative to the present subject. Such are Athenaeus, Strabo, Pausanias, Lucian, Aelian, Polybius, Seneca, Pliny, and others. But the greatest lights, the amplest supplement to the omissions and defects of history, are furnished by the noble and valuable remains of the great Athenian orators. And here the author must bespeak all the candour of the learned reader, in judging of the use he hath made of their materials. They were undoubtedly the most capable of giving the clearest and most authentic account of affairs, in which they themselves had so considerable a share. Yet, in ascertaining the force

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force and extent of their testimony, in distinguishing between truth and artifice, between the real or probable state of facts, and the representations of a vehement, impassioned, and perhaps interested speaker; judgment, sagacity, and attention, are required: and here the defects of a writer must be particularly observable; not to mention the difference of sentiment which necessarily arises in such a case. If Isocrates represents all the actions and designs of PHILIP in the fairest and most advantageous light, the learned and judicious may not be entirely agreed, how far this is to be ascribed to the inexperience and unsuspecting honesty, the benevolence and simplicity, of a recluse rhetorician, unacquainted with the wiles of policy, and the corruptions of the great world. If, on the contrary, Demosthenes bursts forth into the most animated indignation and abhorrence of this prince; he loads him with the blackest imputations; it may not be agreed, how

how far we are to guard against the extravagance of an honest zeal, or the artifice of a popular leader. When two great rivals are contending for reputation, power, and all that is valuable in human life, if not for life itself, although the dispute happily furnishes us with many particulars of their public conduct, as well as that of their contemporaries; although it hath preserved many important instances of the policy, abilities, sentiments, and passions, of the great actors in that scene in which the contending parties were engaged; yet what credit is to be given to their different representations, may sometimes be thought by no means easy to determine, but a matter which may admit of some variety in opinion. When two competitors are violent against each other; when their most momentous interests are concerned in the contests; when they know that success depends in a great measure on the present impression made on the passions and imaginations of their

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their judges; they must have more than ordinary integrity, if they are not tempted to pass the bounds of truth and justice. And the contentions between Demosthenes and Æschines have disclosed some particulars, which render the integrity of both at least suspicious. Even in their representations of facts, which might be supposed not so liable to fallacy and deception, we are often embarrassed by the weight of contradictory evidence, and tempted to believe, that they sometimes asserted, with a deliberate purpose of deceiving. Of this I shall take the liberty of laying before the reader one among many instances.

IN that oration of Demosthenes, in which he accuses Æschines of corruption and misconduct in his management of a treaty which the Athenians concluded; in order to load his rival with public odium, he relates a particular incident highly to his dishonour; and dwells upon it with all pos-

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sible

sible aggravations, and all the appearance of truth and sincerity. He says, that, during his residence in Macedon, he (Æschines) was invited to an entertainment by one of his friends: that, in the course of the festivity, a woman was introduced, a native of Olynthus, a city which had been in alliance with Athens, which PHILIP had lately subdued, and whose inhabitants were now generally in a state of slavery. This woman, saith Demosthenes, was treated with the liberty which her present distressed condition seemed to allow, not with the decorum due to her former fortune. As she was not yet enured to severities, she expressed her uneasiness and resentment; which so provoked Æschines, and some other guests, that, with unparalleled barbarity, they called in an attendant slave, who was ordered to lash her without mercy; and would have put her to death, had it not been for the interposition of one man, to whom she flew, imploring his protection;

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tion ; and who, with great difficulty, saved her from their drunken rage.—This the orator insisteth on as notorious ; declares that it had raised the utmost indignation in Arcadia and Thessaly, where it had been commonly spoken of ; and offers to produce Diophantus, an Athenian of some eminence, as a witness to the truth of a fact, with which this citizen was well acquainted, and which he had before mentioned in the assembly.—One would imagine that nothing could be asserted more plausibly, and with a greater appearance of truth and candour. Yet, when Æschines comes to make his defence, we find him asserting, that the bare mention of this had raised the utmost fury and indignation against the false accuser ; that Demosthenes had actually attempted to suborn one Aristophanes, a native of Olynthus, to bear testimony to his malicious falsehood ; that Aristophanes had rejected the infamous proposition with horror ; and, to attest

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the truth of all this, he produces the evidence not only of this Olynthian, but of two citizens of Athens.—Other passages may be observed in both the rival orators, which afford good reasons for receiving their testimony with all due caution. If the author sometimes appears to be determined to one particular side, and to assume the representations of one of the parties as authentic; it would be presumption to expect that the sentiments of the learned reader, who examines his authority, must be ever exactly consonant to his: and, if he sometimes contents himself with relating the different representations of the orators, without attempting to decide between them, this is a method which the historians of times and actions less remote and obscure are sometimes obliged to pursue.

THE orator Aristides, who lived about five hundred years after the death of PHILIP, made two orations against this prince, which

which are yet preserved. They are written in the character of an ambassador supposed to be sent to Thebes, to engage this state to unite with the Athenians against Macedon. Had the oration which Demosthenes really delivered on this occasion been preserved, it might have afforded many illustrations of the history of his time, as well as many noble proofs of his art and power of speaking. But the topics on which Aristides enlarges, are common and well known; and scarcely any new materials can be extracted from him. — His abilities, as an orator, it is not to the present purpose to examine.

GEORGE Gemisthius Pletho, a modern Greek, wrote a continuation of the history of Xenophon down to the death of PHILIP; a work sufficiently accurate and well connected. Had he read those authors which are now lost, it might have been of considerable use; but his materials are

taken entirely from writers well known, Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch: and therefore we are not to expect any new lights from him, or any information which may not be as well obtained by drawing from the same sources.

THE modern compilers, who have treated this part of ancient history, are perhaps already well known to the reader. Monsieur Turreil, in his learned preface to his translation of the Philippic Orations of Demosthenes, proposes to supply the loss of Theopompus, by collecting and uniting together the scattered remains of PHILIP's history. But his collection is by no means suited to so magnificent a promise. It is confined within the compass of a very few pages, and is by no means so perfect and accurate as that of the learned Puffendorf, who hath given us short but excellent and exact heads of this prince's actions, in the second of his *Dissertationes*

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*sertationes Academicæ selectiores, intitled,
de Rebus gestis Philippi.*

THE labours of Rollin, on this subject, deserve great commendations, whatever inadvertencies or omissions may be found in them. The nature of his work did not permit him to give it the full extent, which he himself thought that it merited; as appears by his wishing that some modern would undertake it particularly, and collect all the scattered remains of antiquity relative to the history of PHILIP. The same may be said of the authors of the UNIVERSAL HISTORY, who, in their account of this prince, have discovered taste, judgment, and learning, amidst some less material errors, and some omissions, which might have been avoided, even consistently with their plan.

WHAT Monsieur Rollin wished to be executed, was undertaken by one of his

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countrymen, Claude-Matthieu Olivier, a native of Marseilles; and Member of the Academy of Belles Lettres of that city: and some time after this writer's death, which happened in the year 1736, his work was published in two small volumes, under the title of *Histoire de Philippe*, &c.: a work to which the author must acknowledge himself greatly indebted, and whose publication makes it necessary for him to offer something in justification of his present attempt.

OLIVIER appears plainly to have employed great assiduity in making his collection of materials, nor hath he discovered less genius and judgment in using them. It is said that his attention to this work hastened his dissolution: and, unhappily, his papers fell into the hands of persons by no means so well acquainted with the subject of them as the author himself. This seems to have been the reason that his authorities

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authorities are frequently not quoted at all;
 scarcely ever with any degree of accuracy;
 and, in general, the quotations even ridi-
 culously defective and erroneous; which
 in a great measure defeats the advantages
 which a subsequent writer might derive
 from his labours. Had this author lived
 to finish and polish his history, a careful
 revifal of the writers from whence he drew
 it, might have fugged to him many al-
 terations, improvements, and corrections.
 As it ftands at prefent, feveral inaccuracies
 appear to have efaped him; many, and
 fome material omiffions; authorities fome-
 times wreffed from their real and natural
 purport, or ftretched beyond their due
 bounds, together with many faults in his
 arrangement, where we find the order of
 facts and actions difturbed and reverfed.
 Some of thefe imperfections the reader
 will find occasionally pointed out in the
 following hiftory: by which he will judge,
 whether the author hath been fevere in his
 cenfure,

censure, or rash in dissenting from Olivier; of whom he speaks with greater freedom, as he apprehends that a writer is not entirely accountable for the faults of a piece, to which he hath not put the last finishing hand. But there is one objection to be made to the whole tenour of this writer's history, and that is an objection which lies against most biographers: I mean, a strong prejudice and partiality in favour of his hero. "Unhappily" (saith he) "for the reputation of PHILIP, the city which opposed his designs with most obstinacy, was that which gave birth to the greatest orators of Greece: so that many know PHILIP only as a prince, against whom Demosthenes delivered the masterpieces of eloquence."—The design of Olivier, therefore, was to form an *apology*, (as he himself speaks) for this prince. And how far he was transported by his zeal, appears remarkably in his ingenious comparison between PHILIP and ALEXANDER; in

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in which his love to his hero hath betrayed him into some violations of historical truth, and even into some contradictions to his own history. The author's first intention was to have added this comparison, as well as that of Turreil, between PHILIP and Caesar, to the present work; but, upon reflection, he relolved rather to deprive his history of these ornaments, than seem to take too great freedoms with the labours of other writers.

AND, if the observations he hath now made on the French writer do not exceed the bounds of truth and candour, it cannot be deemed presumption, that he was not discouraged, by his work, from the pursuit of a design, undertaken some time before he had been made acquainted with it. At the same time that he hath endeavoured to give this history a greater extent and copiousness than Mr. Olivier hath bestowed on the subject, to avoid his errors, and to supply

supply his omissions; he freely acknowledges the assistances he hath received from his learning and judgment; and, if at any time, in the course of this work, he hath neglected such acknowledgment, he hopes that this declaration will free him from all suspicions of so despicable a crime as plagiarism. He is not conscious of attempting to impose on the public by a translation, or even a paraphrase, of the French history. He hath followed the author of it, where this author himself followed the best leaders; he hath quitted his guidance, where he had any fears of being misled.

As to the importance and usefulness of the subject itself, the learned reader is not to be informed of these; and, as to the manner in which he hath treated it, nothing that might be here said could excuse or atone for its defects. From the nature of the work, it is impossible that every part of it can be equally interesting and engaging.

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ing. The judicious reader will be determined by the whole, and then pronounce equitably and candidly.—To prepare him for the perusal of the following history, in which the council of Amphictyons acts so considerable a part, it seemed necessary to lay before him the nature and constitution of this famous body. Of these he will find a general account presented to his view, in the form of a Preliminary Dissertation; which is prefixed, not so much for the sake of refining on those learned men who have already treated of this subject, as to save the trouble of turning to other books.

I CANNOT close this preface, without acknowledging my obligations to those who have been kind enough to think my application to this subject merited their favour and encouragement. I am bound particularly to declare, that I owe the warmest and sincerest gratitude to the friendship of the Reverend Doctor SAMUEL MADDEN,

DEN, a name which must be ever honoured and revered in *Ireland*, while it feels the happy effects of his extraordinary zeal and generous public spirit. And, whatever may be the fate of the author and his performance, he must ever reflect, with pride and pleasure, that he had an opportunity of declaring thus publickly, that there is *another person*, by whom he hath been highly and particularly obliged; and that this work was undertaken at the desire, and introduced to the world by the favour and patronage, of the generous friend to every useful and ornamental art, every attempt to improve or please mankind, the Right Honourable JAMES Lord Viscount CHARLEMONT.

PRELI-

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION

ON THE

Council of AMPHICTYONS.

ANCIENT Greece was inhabited by people, whose origin and language were the same; but their manners, customs, institutions, and forms of government, in many respects, totally different [A]. Yet,

[A] Licebat Athenis eodem patre natam uxorem ducere, uterinam vero in matrimonio habere non solum nefarium erat, verum etiam incestuosum: contra, Lycurgus, qui Lacedaemoniis, populo finitimo, leges tulit, germanarum incesta esse conjugia voluit, uterinarum consuetudinem indulgit. Rursus huic populo quem ultimo memoravi, in usu et moribus fuit, ea quae pro legibus observarent, non literis, sed memoriae mandare: in illo autem vicissim, ex legibus non scriptis jus dicere, cum capitis periculo conjunctum esse videbatur. Nemo erat Thebis Boeotius tam nobilis imp. qui non et gratia et laude dignum duxit scienter tibiis canere, et pari esse in musicis ac in bellicis fama: contra, ab Atheniensium moribus haec omnia aberant, et partim infamia, partim humilia atque servili homine digna habebantur.

TAYLOR. Com. ad Marmor. Sand. p. 53.

amidst

Bossuet.
Disc. sur
l'Hist. U-
niv. tom. 3.
p. 285.

~~amidst this diversity, their general prin-~~
 ciples were also the same, an ardour for
 liberty, and a strict regard to the public
 good. "The Grecians," saith the learn-
 ed Bishop of Meaux, "were naturally pos-
 " fessed of genius and valour, which were
 " timely cultivated by those kings and colo-
 " nies which came from Egypt, who, by
 " settling early in several parts of Greece,
 " spread through the whole country the
 " excellent polity of the Egyptians. Hence
 " were learned the exercises of the body,
 " wrestling, racing on foot, on horseback,
 " and in chariots, and all the other exer-
 " cises which were brought to perfection
 " by the glorious prizes of the Olympic
 " games. But Greece derived still more
 " important advantages from the Egyp-
 " tians, that of wise laws and institutions;
 " that of being taught a rational submission
 " and amenable deference to rightful power;
 " that of being formed to a just conception
 " and strict attention to the public inte-
 " rest. Its particular inhabitants did not
 " confine their regards to their own private
 " affairs. They did not consider public
 " dif-

on the COUNCIL of AMPHICTYONS.

Ampli

“difficulties merely as they affected their
“own tranquillity, or that of their families;
“which they were instructed to consider
“as parts of a more extensive body, that
“of their state or community. Such sen-
“timents were constantly transmitted from
“the fathers to their children, who, from
“their infancy, were taught to consider
“their country as a common mother, to
“whom they belonged no less than to their
“natural parents. The word CIVILITY,
“among the Grecians, did not barely sig-
“nify that sweetness and mutual deference
“which render men sociable: their ANHP
“HOAITIKOZ was the man who consider-
“ed himself as a member of the state; who
“submitted his conduct to the laws; who
“acted entirely under their direction; who
“conspired with them in promoting the
“general good; without any attempt to
“encroach on the rights of individuals, or
“to violate the just equality of citizens in
“the same community. The ancient
“kings, who reigned in the different parts
“of Greece, Minos, Cecrops, Theseus,
“Codrus, Temenes, Cresphontes, Eury-
Vol. I. b “Athenes,

“Athenes, Patrocles, and others, diffused
“this laudable spirit through the whole
“nation. They gained popularity, not by
“flattering the people, but by procuring
“their good, and establishing the just au-
“thority of law.”

A NUMBER of neighbouring societies,
thus formed and modelled, became gra-
dually to be considered as one body or na-
tion, composed of so many distinct mem-
bers, all united and connected together by
interest and affection. As the good of each
individual was subservient to that of his
community; so the good of each commu-
nity was considered as subordinate to that
of the whole nation. Hence arose a simi-
lar species of CIVILITY, if it may be so
called, which each society owed to the ge-
neral assemblage. Even amidst those con-
tests and disorders which unruly passions,
or the accidental clashing of interests, might
produce, war had its laws and limitations;
the universal interest of Greece was pro-
fessedly at least the first and greatest ob-
ject of attention; the attempt of any state

to extend its power beyond the just and equitable bounds was considered as an injury to Greece in general: justice, moderation, equality, were ever strenuously enforced, and all military contests carried on among the Greeks in a manner somewhat similar to judicial controversies in private societies: and, while it was allowed thus to seek redress of particular injuries, the general rights of the contending parties were secured by the national laws, and demanded a just and scrupulous attention, even amidst all the confusion and violence of arms. Thus the great Athenian orator describes the principles and sentiments of the Greeks, speaking of the ancient wars of Athens and Sparta:

Οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως εἶχον, μαλλον δὲ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΣ, ὥστε ἔδε χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι παρ' ἑδενος ἑδεν· ἀλλ' εἶναι ΝΟΜΙΜΟΝ τινὰ καὶ προφανή

Dem. Phil.
3. sect. 10.
Ed. Dub.
Æd. Acad.
1754.

τὸν πόλεμον. *Such was their simplicity, or rather their CIVILITY, (that is, their deference to the general laws of Greece, and their attention to the common good of that nation) that corruption was never made the instrument of their success; but they carried on a LEGAL and an open war.*

WHILE these principles preserved their due vigour and influence, Greece continued a really united body, happy in itself, and formidable to its enemies. Many circumstances contributed to form this union; and many institutions were suggested, by the sagacity of statesmen and legislators, to secure and confirm it. Of these, the famous COUNCIL OF AMPHICTYONS deserves particular regard; whose origin and constitution are here to be explained, that the reader may come duly prepared to understand the history now presented to him, in which this august body makes so considerable a figure.

THE council of Amphictyons, like other institutions of the same kind, was at first but inconsiderable; nor did it arrive to its full strength and lustre but by gradual advances, and in a long series of years. Its first origin we are to ascribe to Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, an ancient king of Thessaly, as the authority of the Arundelian Marbles warrants us to determine. Their testimony is full and explicit, and on
account

account of the high antiquity of this monument, deserves particular attention.—

Αμφικτυὼν Δευκαλιωνὸς ἑξασίλευσεν ἐν Θερμο-
πυλαῖς, καὶ συνέγαλαους περὶ τὸν ὄρον οἰκύντας,
καὶ ὠνόμασεν Ἀμφικτυονας, καὶ Πυλαίαν, οὐπὲρ
καὶ νυν ἐστὶ θυοῦσιν Ἀμφικτυονες.—“ Amphic-

Prideaux.
Mar. Ox.
p. 160.
Ed. Ox.
1676.

tyon, the son of Deucalion, reigned at
Thermopylae, and collected the people
bordering on his territory, and called
them Amphictyons, and the assembly,
Pylaea, in the place where the Amphic-
tyons sacrifice to this day.” Dionysius *

* p. m. 230.

of Halicarnassus, in the fourth book of
his Roman Antiquities; Theopompus, as
quoted by Harpocration on the word Ἀμ-
φικτυονες; and Androtion, an ancient writer
quoted by Pausanias * in his description of
Phocis; all concur with the Marbles of
Paros, in ascribing the institution of this
council to Amphictyon. Dionysius indeed
makes him the son of Hellen the son of
Deucalion. But to this we may justly op-
pose the authority above mentioned, as well
as that of Philoponus, in his treatise on
the Greek Dialects. Androtion asserts, that
the convention was at first held at Delphi,

* p. m. 323.
Ed. Franc.
fol. 1683.

b 3 and

and composed only of those who lived in the neighbourhood of this city, and who were called not from Amphictyon, but *Ἀμφικτιῶνες*, the neighbouring inhabitants. But to this again we must oppose the high authority of the Marbles, which seems to be confirmed by the names *Πύλαια* and *Πύλαγορᾶι*, by which the council and its members were ever called, in whatever place they were convened in succeeding times.

THE intention of Amphictyon, in instituting this assembly, was, that the children of Deucalion, who, at his decease, divided the kingdom between them, should have a common tribunal, to which they might appeal in all private contests, and a council, in which they might concert all measures necessary for their defence against their foreign enemies. And for these purposes, besides those laws by which each particular city was governed, he enacted others of general force and obligation to all, which were called Amphictyonic laws. By means of these, saith Dionysius*, the people, thus united, continued in strict and mutual amity; regarded each

* in loc. cit.

each other as real brethren and countrymen; and were enabled to annoy and strike terror into their barbarous enemies. Thermopylae was the limit which divided the territories of Amphictyon and Hellen, the two brothers; here, therefore, they built a temple to Ceres at the common charge, near the mouth of the river Ælasmus, in which the members of the Amphictyonic council assembled to offer their sacrifices, and to consult about their common interest, twice in every year, in spring and autumn; and hence the names Πυλαία ἑαρινή καὶ μετοπωρινή, the vernal and autumnal convention.

Prideaux
Not. ad
Chron. Mar.
p. 122.

THE assembly, thus formed, was at first but small, being wholly composed of those people whom Deucalion had commanded, and who, from his son Hellen, were called ἙΛΛΗΝΕΣ. The Dorians and Ionians, who were descended from the posterity of this Hellen, as yet had no being; nor were any of the Peloponnesians now accounted Hellenes, but were called Pelasgi; neither were they disposed to unite with the sons of

Ibid.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

Deucalion, by whom they had been deprived of Thessaly, and all that part of Greece which lay beyond the isthmus. As Greece improved, and the Hellenes increased in number, new regulations became necessary: and accordingly we find, that, in some time after the original institution, Acrisius, king of Argos, when, through fear of Perseus, (who, as the oracle declared, was to kill him) he retired into Thessaly, observed the defects of the Amphictyonic council, and undertook to new-model and regulate it; extended its privileges; augmented the number of its members; enacted new laws, by which the collective body was to be governed; and assigned to each state one single deputy, and one single voice, to be enjoyed by some, in their own sole right; by others, in conjunction with one or more inferior states: and thus came to be considered as the founder of this famous representative of the Hellenic body.

Strabo, l. 9.
P. m. 430.
Ed. Amst.
1797.

FROM the time of Acrisius, the Amphictyons still continued to hold one of their
2 annual

annual councils at Thermopylae, that of autumn. But it was now made a part of their function (and, in time of peace, became the most considerable part of it) to guard and protect the national religion. The vernal assembly therefore was held at Delphi, the great seat of the Grecian religion; the object of universal veneration; whither all people, Greeks and Barbarians, resorted, to seek the advice and direction of the famous Pythian oracle. The immense quantity of wealth, the number of rich votive offerings, which the superstition of so many ages and nations had lavished on the temple, demanded the exactest care and most vigorous protection. The prodigious concourse which attended there, at particular seasons, naturally produced many contests, and required a well regulated polity, and the frequent interposition of a respectable and powerful jurisdiction. The Delphians themselves were entrusted with the possession and general guardianship of the temple: they attended entirely on the service of the god, and were solely employed in the ceremonies of his religion: they

Dem. de Coron.
ron. sect. 51.
Ed. Foulke
& Friend.

Van Dale
Dissertat. de
Conc.
Amph.

they were accounted in some sort sacred; the priests, the attendants, and as it were the family, of Apollo. So they are called by Lucian (in Phalarid. 1.) *ἱεροὶ τε καὶ παρθεροὶ τε Πυθίᾳ, καὶ μόνον συννομοὶ καὶ ὁμοφροῖ.* But although they enjoyed certain powers and privileges with respect to the temple, and could even grant some honours and favours to particular persons, such as that of the *Προμαντεία*, or right of precedence in consulting the oracle, as appears from an imperfect inscription preserved by Spon and Wheeler, and quoted by Van Dale[B]: yet still were they subject to the inspection

[B] The inscription according to SPON:

..... ΑΔΕΛΦΟ

..... ΑΝ. ΠΑΤΡΟΝΑ

..... ΕΥΔΟΡΩΙ

... ΤΑΡΧΟΣ. ΒΟΙΩΤΟΙΣ.

... ΤΑΝΑΓΡΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ.

ΕΥΤΟΝΟΙΣ. ΠΡΟΞΕ

..... ΠΡΟΜΑΝΤΕΙΑΝ.

ΕΔΕΙΑΔΑΞΥΔΙΑΝ.

ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑΝ. ΠΡΟΔΙΚΙ....

ΑΝ. ΕΠΙΤΙΜΑΝ. ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ,

... ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ. ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ,

ΘΟΙΝΙΩΝΟΣ. ΒΟΥΛΕΥ

... Ν ΓΩΝ..... ΣΩΠΟΔΟΡΟΥ.

... ΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΔΑΜΟΤ.....

and jurisdiction of the Amphictyons, who were the great conservators and protectors of the shrine; and who, besides their general care, appointed certain of their members, either by lot or rotation, to preside over the temple; an honour which, according to Van Dale, was also called by the name Προμαντεια.

THE times of assembling we have said were two in each year. The following history however affords an instance of the Amphictyons assuming a power of assembling oftener, on some extraordinary emergencies. But this seems to have been a corruption introduced by time, or the power of particular parties; and as such we shall find it condemned and discountenanced. Here, however, we are to distinguish between the Συνοδριον Αμφικτυωνων, the regular assembly formed of those deputies only who had a right to vote, and who had these stated times of meeting; and the Εκκλησια, which must be here explained. Whenever or wherever the council of Amphictyons was

Æsch. in
Ctes. fest.
39. Val-
lois. Dis-
sert. sur les
Amph.
Vol. 3.
Mem. des
B. l. p. 207.

was assembled, a great concourse attended from all parts of Greece, to share in the public games and spectacles which this council instituted and superintended; and to expose their wares and merchandizes to public sale. These Greeks were always allowed to be present in the assembly, to observe the conduct of their representatives, to assist, direct, and instruct them. When the council met at Delphi, the concourse was still further increased, by the numbers who came to consult the oracle, among whom were many persons respectable by their stations and characters; and particularly the *Θεσποί*, or men commissioned to repair to Delphi by each state, together with its Amphictyons, in order to consult the oracle, to offer sacrifices, and to assist in religious rites. All these persons were not only permitted to be present in the council, but on extraordinary occasions were summoned to attend. Thus an assembly extraordinary was sometimes formed of the usual and ordinary Amphictyonic deputies, and these additional numbers, called

Ibid. p.
226.

called *Εκκλησιαι*. The learned Vallois is persuaded that those Greeks, who attended on the service of the gods, are marked out by the words *το κοινον των Αμφικτυωνων*, which occurs in one of the decrees quoted by Æschines. And, if so, they seem not to have been excluded from voting in such extraordinary assemblies; all resolutions were at least passed in their name, as well as in that of the ordinary Amphictyons. *Εδοξε τοις Πυλαγοραις και τοις συνεδροις των Αμφικτυωνων και το κοινω των ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.* “It is decreed by

Dem. de
Coron.
sect. 51.

“the Pylagorae and assessors of the Amphictyons, and the community of Amphictyons.”

THE alterations, made in the council of Amphictyons at different times, seem to have occasioned the difference in historians as to the number and names of the people who had a right to send representatives to that assembly. Agreeably to the dispositions made by Acrisius, twelve cities only were invested with this right, according to Strabo. Æschines and Theopompus also

* *Æschin.*
de falsa Leg.
sect. 36.
Ed. Brooke.
† in loc. cit.

also confine it to twelve people, whom the orator * calls, not *πολεις*, cities, but *ἔθνη*, a word denoting a collection of several particular communities. Pausanias † also calls them *γᾶν*, a term of like signification.

THE AMPHICTYONIC PEOPLE.

<i>According to Æschines.</i>	<i>To Theopompus.</i>	<i>To Pausanias.</i>
THESSALIANS	IONIANS	IONIANS
BOEOTIANS	DORIANS	DOLOPES
DORIANS	PERRHÆBEANS	THESSALIANS
IONIANS	BOEOTIANS	ÆNIANS
PERRHÆBEANS	MAGNETES	MAGNETES
MAGNETES	ACHÆANS	MALEANS
LOCRIANS	PHTHIOTES	PHTHIOTES
OETEANS	MALEANS	DORIANS
PHTHIOTES	DOLOPES	PHOCIANS
MALEANS	ÆNIANS	LOCRI EPICNE-
PHOCIANS	DELPHIANS	MIDES.
	PHOCIANS	

ÆSCHINES, we see, enumerates but eleven; yet he asserts the number to be twelve. By which it seems probable, that some copyist was guilty of an omission, in leaving out one name, possibly that of the Dolopes. The OEtians, in his list, are the same

same with the Ænians in the others, who were so called, from their vicinity to mount Oeta. And, amidst all this diversity of representation, we may perceive there are some people whom all acknowledge as members of this council. These are the Ionians, Dorians, Magnetes, Phthiotes, Phocians, and Maleans. Difference of times and circumstances might have produced many alterations; but the general intention of this assembly, and the invariable object of all its modellers and directors, was to form a complete representative of all Greece; and accordingly it is called by Demosthenes το κοινον των Ἑλληνων Συνοδριον, and by Cicero, who exactly translates him, commune Græciæ concilium.

We are not therefore to imagine, that the twelve principal cities in the several districts, only, continued to send their deputies to the Amphictyonic council, (whatever might have been the case in earlier times) or that the twelve ΕΘΝΗ were so many distinct and separate societies, which had a right to send just twenty-four deputies

ties (for the number of deputies from each state was doubled in some time after Acri-
sius). Each of these districts, on the con-
trary, contained a number of Amphictyo-
nic states, each of which, either by them-
selves, or in conjunction with others, had
an equal right of sending their represen-
tatives. This cannot be better illustrated,
and, at the same time, more fully proved,
than by quoting the passage from Æschir-
nes*, to which we are indebted for this

* de falsa
Leg. sect. 36.

Καταριθμησάμεν δ' ἔθνη δώδεκα
τὰ μετέχοντα τῷ ἱερῷ Θετταλᾶς, Βοιωτῶν, ἔ
Θεβαίων, Δωριέων, Ἰωνῶν, Περρῆαιων,
Μαγνητῶν, Λοκρῶν, Οἰταίων, Φθιωτῶν, Μαλειῶν,
Φωκίων· καὶ τούτων ἰσάμενον ἕκαστον ἰδὺνθ' ἰσάψη-
φον γενομένον, τὸ μέγιστον τὰ ἑλαττονα, τὸν
ἑκόντα ἐκ Δωριέων καὶ Κυτινίων ἰσον δυναμένον Λα-
κεδαιμονίοις, δύο γὰρ ψεφῶν ἕκαστον φέρει ἰδὺνθ',
παλιν ἐκ τῶν Ἰωνῶν τὸν Εἰρετρίαν καὶ Πρίηναν τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ ταῦτα. " I
" enumerated the twelve people who had a
" right to share in the guardianship of the
" temple; the Thessalians, the Boeotians,
" (not the Thebans alone) the Dorians, Io-
" nians, Perrhebaeans, Magnetes, Locrians,
" Oeteans,

“Oeteans, Phthiotes, Maleans, Phocians.
 “Of these I shewed that each particular
 “state had an equal right of suffrage, the
 “least with the greatest; the deputies of Do-
 “rium and of Cynipium the same with the
 “deputies of Lacedaemon: two voices to
 “each state: and again, of the Ionians, the
 “Eretrian and Prienean deputy an equal
 “power with the Athenian: and so of the
 “rest.”

We find a remarkable passage in the life of Themistocles by Plutarch, which exactly agrees to this. The historian relates, that the Lacedaemonians endeavoured to have all those cities excluded from the Amphictyonic council, that had refused to unite in the war against the Persians; and that Themistocles, who conceived this to be a scheme for throwing the whole power of the council into the hands of the Lacedaemonians, opposed it strenuously, and prevailed on the pylagorae to reject the proposition:

διδάξας ὥς τριακοντα και μια μὲναι πόλεις εἰσιν αἱ μετασχοῦσαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τούτων αἱ πλείους πανταπασιν μικραὶ δεινὸν οὖν εἰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐκσποῦνθου γενομένης, ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION

δυσιν ἢ τρισὶ πόλεσιν ἴσαι τὸ Συνοδριον:

“Shewing that but one and thirty such
“cities had shared in the war; and of these
“most were very small; so that it would
“have alarming consequences, if the rest
“of Greece should be excluded from the
“council, and so the whole influence of it
“devolve to two or three principal cities.”

Here, then, we find, that one and thirty cities made but a part of this council in the time of Themistocles. Non credo, faith

* Dissert. de
Conc.
Amph.

Van Dale*, quod omnes istas xxxi civitates tunc singulas jus illud suffragii revera possedisse, sed id voluisse Themistoclem, ut, si hae omnes istud jus obtinerent, reliquas non posse excludi, quod aequae civitates Graeciae essent. “I do not believe,
“that every single city of these thirty-one
“really enjoyed the right of suffrage: but
“that the meaning of Themistocles is this,
“that if they were all to be admitted to
“such a right, the others could not be ex-
“cluded, as these were equally states of
“Greece.” But where is the difficulty of believing what the historian asserts, and what is sufficiently confirmed by collateral evidence? The question was not whether
any

on the COUNCIL of AMPHICTYONS.

any new right should be conferred on the cities which had joined in the war, but whether the others should be deprived of the right which they had before enjoyed. A few lines above the passage quoted, we have this sentence: *Φοβηθεὶς μὴ Θετταλῶν καὶ Ἀργείων ἐν τῇ Θηβαίων ἐκβαλλόντων τοῦ Συνεδρίου, καὶ τῶν* "I apprehensive lest if the Thessalians and Argians and Thebans should be excluded from the assembly," &c. But it is plain the Argians and Thebans sat in the council, as members, the one of the Dorian, the other of the Boeotian body. Again, we find the Athenian orators speaking of an Amphissæan, an Arcadian, a Pharsalian, as haranguing and acting in the Amphictyonic council: which cannot be naturally accounted for, but by supposing them to have been the representatives of certain Amphictyonic states which the twelve general districts contained, all of which had an equal right of being represented. This might be thought a point too well established to require to be enlarged upon, if the writers upon this subject had

* Not. in
Chron. Mar.
p. 224.

not either absolutely denied it, or admitted it only with certain limitations and restrictions. Prideaux *, for instance, asserts that no more than twenty-four members sat in this council; but how can this be reconciled with the declaration of Æschines, that Dorium, Cytinium, Prienea, Eretria, had each two voices as well as Lacedaemon and Athens? Again, Van Dale supposes that the principal states only sent their deputies constantly, while the inferior cities were admitted to this privilege, at some particular times, which were determined by rotation. But it may be doubted whether this supposition can be thoroughly reconciled to that equality of power and suffrage, that *ισοψηφον*, which Æschines speaks of. In the time of Pausanias * indeed, such a regulation obtained as Van Dale mentions; and certain inferior cities were allowed only to send representatives by turns, (as we shall hereafter have occasion of observing;) but this seems to have been a new regulation, which had not obtained in any former times, but was established on modelling this council in a new manner.

* in Phoc.
ut supra.

WE

WE see, then, how this famous council was formed. The whole nation of Greece was divided into twelve districts or provinces: each of these contained a certain number of Amphictyonic states, or cities, each of which enjoyed an equal right of voting and determining in all affairs relative to the general interest. Other inferior cities were dependent on some of these, and, as members of their community, were also represented by the same deputies: and thus the assembly of the Amphictyons became really and properly the representative of the whole Hellenic body: το κοινον των Ἑλλήνων Συνοδον.

THIS idea of the Amphictyonic council may possibly serve to explain a remarkable passage in Diodorus Siculus *, which the interpreters and commentators seem to give up as totally inexplicable. It is in that decree which the Amphictyons made against the people of Phocis, at the conclusion of the famous sacred war. One article of which runs thus: Των δ' εν Φοκευσι τριων πολεων περιελειν τα τειχη, και μεδεμιαν κοινωνιαν ειναι

* Lib. 16.
sect. 60.
Ed. Amst.
1746.

τοῖς Φοκείοις τοῖς ἱεροῖς, μὲν δὲ τοῖς Ἀμφικτυόνων
 ἑυεδορίου. Utque trium in Phocide urbium
 moenia destruantur; nec templi deinceps,
 et Amphictyonum curiae Phocenses sint
 participes. The word *τοῖς* seems so very
 difficult to be explained, that it is suspected
 to be an interpolation: but, even upon this
 supposition, it is observed by the commen-
 tators, that the article cannot be reconciled
 to another in the same decree, which im-
 ports, not that the cities of Phocis, or three
 cities of Phocis, should be dismantled, but
 that all the Phocian cities should be razed
 to the ground. The article, now quoted,
 I would translate in this manner: "That
 " the walls of THE three cities of the Pho-
 " cians shall be pulled down; and that the
 " Phocians shall have no further commu-
 " nication with the temple, or the assem-
 " bly of the Amphictyons." By THE
 THREE cities, so called by way of emi-
 nence, I would understand the three Am-
 phictyonic cities of Phocis, or at least the
 three Amphictyonic cities which had shared
 in the guilt of sacrilege. The oath which
 each deputy in this council was obliged to
 take

take (as we shall immediately find) forbid the destruction of any one of these cities. Out of respect therefore to this oath, and to the right which these Amphictyonic cities of Phocis formerly enjoyed, I suppose that a distinction was made between these three, and the Phocian cities in general: and that, while the rest were totally demolished, their walls only were pulled down. And that such a distinction was really made, and that, while a great number of cities in this state were razed to their foundations, some were suffered to continue, appears from this, that, some years after this decree, Elataea, one of the cities of Phocis, was accounted a post of such consequence, that all Greece was thrown into the greatest consternation when Philip king of Macedon possessed himself of it. And this interpretation not only reconciles the two articles of the decree, which were deemed repugnant to each other, but also explains the addition of the second clause in that now quoted, *and that the Phocians shall, &c.* which must otherwise appear

not so natural at least, if not difficult to be accounted for.

EACH of those cities, which had a right to assist in the Amphiclyonic council, was obliged to send its deputies to every meeting; and the number of these deputies was usually and regularly two: the one entitled HIEROMNEMON, to whom was particularly entrusted the care of religion and its rites. His office was annual, as appears from several decrees, in which his name is joined with that of the Athenian archon *ἐπώνυμος*; and he was appointed by lot.

The other deputy was called by the general name PYLAGORAS, and was chosen by election for each particular meeting. Each of these deputies, however differing in their functions, enjoyed an equal power of determining all affairs relative to the general interest. And thus the cities which they represented, without any distinction or subordination, each gave two voices in the council of the Amphiclyons, a privilege known by the name of the DOUBLE SUFFRAGE;

Suidas, Hierocraton,
et al.

Dem. de
Coron. sect.
51.
Aristoph.
in Nub.
Dem. in
Finoc.
Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
30.

FRAGE;

FRAGE; which term, so frequent in the ancient writings, is thus fully explained, without any refinement or difficulty. But, although the number of deputies seems to have been settled originally so as to answer to the number of votes which each city was allowed, yet, in process of time, we find, that, on some extraordinary occasions, the principal cities assumed a power of sending more than one pylagoras to assist in a critical emergency, or to serve some purpose of a faction. Thus we shall find, in the following history, that the Athenians, at one particular time, nominated three pylagorae, Midias, Æschines, and Thrasicles. Prideaux asserts, that Demosthenes also was joined with these; and speaks with severity of those who deny it. And yet possibly some arguments might be brought to disprove this assertion, if, notwithstanding the positive manner in which it is advanced, it was not sufficiently discredited by coming entirely unsupported by any authority. But, in all cases where the leading cities took the liberty of enlarging the number of their deputies, though such procedure

procedure might serve to increase their secret influence, yet their power of voting continued the same. This was exactly ascertained, without any regard to differences of grandeur or power in the different states. Each enjoyed two voices, the least as well as the greatest; they who sent but two deputies, and they whose affairs required a greater number.

WHEN the deputies, thus appointed, appeared to execute their commission, they in the first place offered up their solemn sacrifices to the gods; to Ceres, when they assembled at Thermopylae; when at Delphi, to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva: and, before they entered on their function, each deputy was obliged to take an oath, which Æschines hath preserved, or at least some part of it; and which was conceived in these terms:

Æsch. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 35.

“ I SWEAR that I will never subvert
“ any Amphictyonic city: I will never stop
“ the courses of their waters either in war
“ or peace. If any such outrages shall be
“ attempted,

“ attempted, I will oppose them by force
“ of arms, and destroy those cities who
“ may be guilty of such attempts. If any
“ devastations shall be committed in the
“ territory of the god; if any shall be privy
“ to such offence, or entertain any design
“ against the temple; I will make use of
“ my feet, my hands, my whole force, to
“ bring the offending party to condign pu-
“ nishment.”

To render this oath still more solemn,
the following awful imprecations were sub-
joined:

“ If any one shall violate any part of
“ this solemn engagement, whether city,
“ private person, or country, may such
“ violators be obnoxious to the vengeance
“ of Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva
“ the provident. May their lands never
“ produce their fruits: may their women
“ never bring forth children of the same
“ nature with their parents, but offsprings
“ of an unnatural and monstrous kind:
“ may they be for ever defeated in war,

Æsch.
in Ctes.
sect. 36.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION

“ in judicial controversies, and in all civil
 “ transactions ; and may they, their fami-
 “ lies, and their whole race, be utterly de-
 “ stroyed : may they never offer up an
 “ acceptable sacrifice to Apollo, Diana,
 “ Latona, and Minerva the provident ; but
 “ may all their sacred rites be for ever re-
 “ jected.”

As the hieromnemon was particularly entrusted with the affairs of religion, the dignity of his function gave him a superiority over the pylagoras, who appears to have been obliged to pay him some kind of deference and submission. There is a passage in *Æschines* * which seems to warrant this : Περὶ ψαμένῳ δὲ ὁ ἱερομνημὼν ἡξίου με εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ εἶπεν τι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφικτυόνας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, κ. τ. λ. “ The
 “ hieromnemon sent for me, and signified
 “ his directions that I should go into the
 “ assembly, and speak to the Amphictyons
 “ in behalf of the state, &c.” But this doth not fully prove that it was the peculiar province of the pylagoras to speak in the council, as M. de Vallois supposes :
 for,

* in *Ctes.*
 sect. 38.

for, at this particular time, the hieromnemon was sick; and we may as well suppose that his directions to Æschines were occasioned by his present inability of appearing and speaking, as that it was not a part of his office and power to speak in the council. Indeed the principal weight of business seems to have fallen on the pylagoræ, who, as they were chosen by election, were generally men of abilities; and from this cause seem to have become the speakers (*οἱ πεμπόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων εἰς Ἀμφικτυονίαν ῥήτορες*). "Men sent from the several states to the Amphictyonic council as speakers," as Suidas calls them) rather than from any particular power annexed to their office. As the hieromnemons, on the contrary, were appointed by lot, this office must have sometimes devolved on men unacquainted with public business, and unskilled in politics. And, when intrigue and corruption began to prevail in the Amphictyonic council, many inconveniencies must have arisen from this. Artful statesmen, and factious leaders, by affecting an high veneration for their authority, by

alarming

alarming them with the real or pretended dangers to which religion was exposed, abused their honest, though misguided, zeal; and made them the dupes of their craft and policy. Thus we find Demosthenes * complaining, το μελλον ου προοραμενους

* de Coron.
sect. 49.

τας Ιερομνημονας πωθεις ψηφισασθαι, κ. τ. λ.
“He persuaded the hieromnemons, who
“did not foresee the consequences, to vote,
“&c.”

It was the peculiar privilege of one of the hieromnemons to preside in the council. He collected the votes; he reported the resolutions: he had the power of convening the Εκκλησια, or general convention: (as we learn from Æschines* : Κωττύφος δ̄ τας

* in Ctes.
sect. 39.

γυναικας επιψηφίζων, εκκλησιαν ποιει των Αμφικτυων. “Cottyphus, who collected the

“voices, convened a general assembly of
“the Amphictryons.”) His name was prefixed to every decree, together with his title, which was that of sovereign pontiff or priest of Apollo. Of this Demosthenes* furnishes us with some instances: Εν̄ Ιερεας

* de Coron.
sect. 51.

Κλειναγόρου, εαρινης Πυλαιας εδοξε τωσ Πυλαι-
γαμναις
γοραις,

γορίας, κ. τ. λ. "In the pontificate of Clynagoraa, the vernal assembly, it is decreed by the pylagorae, &c." This honour of presiding doth not seem to have been a privilege granted to power or grandeur, or to have been confined to the deputy of any one state. We find in the Athenian orators, that Cottyphus, the president of the council, was the deputy either from Arcadia or Pharsalia, places of inferior note. It is probable, therefore, that the hieromnemon of each Amphictyonic state enjoyed this power in rotation. Such seems to be the language of the following ancient inscription taken from Gruther, p. 129 and 1021, (if the inscription be copied accurately:)

ΘΕΟΙΣ.

ΕΝ ΤΗ ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑ. ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ. ΕΝ

ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ. ΠΥΘΑΙΑΣ. ΗΡΕΙΝΗΣ. ΙΕΡΟ

ΜΝΗΜΟΝΤΟΝΤΩΝ. ΑΙΤΟΛΩΝ. ΠΟ

ΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΥ. ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΥ

ΔΑΜΩΝΟΣ.

BUT,

BUT, whatever honours might have been annexed to the office of hieromnemon, the real equality of power was still scrupulously observed; and even all appearances of superiority, all forms of speaking or writing, that might point out any difference between the members of the council, avoided with particular delicacy and politeness. Of this we have an instance in the form of an Amphictyonic decree, as it is explained by M. de Vallois: *Ἐδixε τοις Πυλαγοραις, και τοις Συνεδροις των Αμφικτυωνων, και τω κοινω των Αμφικτυωνων.* "It is decreed by the pylagorae, and the other assessors in the Amphictyonic council, and by the community of the Amphictyons." By the *Συνεδροις*, according to this author, must be understood the hieromnemons, as the council was composed only of the two orders. Here, then, we find the hieromnemons named after the pylagorae. And the reason seems to him to be this: The office of the former was to collect the votes, to pronounce the decrees, and to reduce them to writing. To name themselves in the first

Dem. ut
supra.

first place would have been a violation of that decorum to which the Greeks ever carefully adhered; and, at the same time, their prerogative was to be preserved. They therefore chose to substitute the term Συεδροι, in the place of their title Ἱερομνημονες, in order to preserve the respect due to their colleagues, and, at the same time, not to derogate from the honour annexed to their own rank. As to the last clause, το κοινον των Αμφικτυονων, it hath been already explained.

SUCH was the constitution of this famous Grecian council. As to the disputes of particular persons, it was accounted beneath the dignity of the Amphictyons to take cognizance of them. Nor do we read of any private man summoned to appear, or condemned in this assembly, except Ephialtes, who, when the Spartans possessed themselves of Thermopylae, under the command of Leonidas, conducted the Persians over the Oetean mountains into Greece. But all offences against religion,

Prideaux
Not. in
Chron.
Marm.
p. 125.

all instances of impiety and profanation, all contests between the Grecian states and cities, came under the particular cognizance of the Amphictyons, who had a right to determine, to impose fines, and even to levy forces, and to make war on those who presumed to rebel against their sovereign authority. The ancient writings afford us several instances of the interposition of this their authority, some of which it may not be improper to lay before the reader.

AFTER the famous naval victory at Salamis, where Themistocles destroyed the fleet of Xerxes; and the battle of Plataea, in which the Persians received a total overthrow by the arms of Greece, conducted by Pausanias the Spartan, and Aristides the Athenian; the Greeks consecrated a golden tripod to Apollo, in acknowledgment of two such signal successes. Pausanias, who was chosen to deposit this offering, from an arrogant ambition of immortalizing his own glory, and that of his country, assumed to himself the whole honour of this offering,

offering, and inscribed the following verses on the tripod :

Ελληνων ἀρχηγος, ἔπει στρατον ὤλεσε Μηδων,
Παυσανίας Φοῖβω μνημ' ἀνέθηκε τοῦτε.

“ Pausanias, general of the Greeks, when
“ he had destroyed the army of the Medes,
“ dedicated this memorial of his victory to
“ Apollo.” The people of Plataea, who
had contributed considerably to the success,
conceiving a just indignation at this procedure of Pausanias, summoned the Lacedaemonians to appear before the Amphictyons, who condemned them to pay a fine of a thousand talents to the confederates, who had been injured and insulted by this inscription. It doth not appear whether or no this fine was rigidly exacted : but it is certain that the Lacedaemonians were obliged to efface this inscription, and, in the place of it, to substitute the names, not of the Plataeans only, but of all the confederate cities, which contributed to the expence of the votive tripod, and the success

which had occasioned this offering to be made. Thucydides indeed, towards the end of his first book, and from him Plutarch, at the end of his treatise on the Malignity of Herodotus, asserts that the Lacedaemonians voluntarily effaced this inscription, when they had been informed of the general indignation with which the Greeks received it. But such a confession of their fault doth not seem to agree with the fierce and haughty temper of this people; and the implacable resentment, with which they pursued the Plataeans, seems an argument of the reluctance with which, on this occasion, they submitted to a superior authority,

Vid. Taylor.
Comment.
ad Marm.
Sand. p. 19.

ANOTHER instance of the power and authority of the Amphictyons appears in the contest between the Athenians and Delians, concerning the patronage of the temple of Apollo in Delos. This island had long acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Athenians, who assumed the whole care of the temple, which Erysiſthon, the son of Ce-
crops,

crops, was said to have erected; and, in many instances, exercised a tyrannic power over the inhabitants. About the end of the Peloponnesian war, the Delians made some ineffectual remonstrances against the injustice of the Athenian claim to the property of their island, and the guardianship of their temple; but, in the hundred and seventh, or hundred and eighth Olympiad, they brought their cause before the Amphictyonic council, encouraged possibly by the enemies of Athens. On this occasion Hyperides was, by the interposition of the Areopagites, appointed to defend the right of his country, and deliver his famous Deliac oration; and probably with success, though the ancients do not particularly inform us of the event of this dispute.

Dem. de
Coron. sect.
42.

PLUTARCH, in the life of Cimon, takes notice of the inhabitants of the island Scyros being fined by the Amphictyons, for a violation of the law of nations, in plundering those who brought merchandises into their own port.

THE

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION

THE same author, in the conclusion of his treatise intitled *Κεφαλαιων καταγραφη Ελληνικα*, hath recorded, that, at a time when certain of the Peloponnesians were deputed to repair to Delphi, in order to consult the oracle, in their way they stopped at Megara, and disposed themselves, with their wives and children, in their carriages, in order to pass the night. The Megareans, with a brutal insolence and cruelty, which were partly the effects of drunkenness, overturned these carriages into an adjacent lake, by which some of the Peloponnesians were drowned. This was an outrage which particularly demanded the interposition of the Amphictyons, as religion was affronted by the violation of the reverence due to the persons and commission of these Peloponnesians. This council therefore exerted its authority, and inflicted severe punishment on the Megareans; condemning some capitally, and banishing others who had not shared so largely in the offence.

on the COUNCIL of AMPHICTYONS.

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QUINCTILIAN informs us, (in his fifth book and tenth chapter de Inst. Orat.) that, when Alexander demolished Thebes, he there found an authentic record, by which it appeared that the Thebans had lent two hundred talents to the Thessalians: and that, in consideration of the services he had received from the Thessalian cavalry, he cancelled the deed. When Thebes had been restored by Cassander, this state demanded the repayment of the loan; and brought its suit before the council of the Amphictyons.

CICERO (de Inventione, l. 2.) relates, that the Thebans, having gained a victory over the Lacedaemonians, instead of setting up a slight trophy, which might continue but for a time, according to the ancient moderation of the Greeks, erected one of brass, and were accused of this insolent attempt to perpetuate the memory of Grecian discord, before the council of the Amphictyons.

THESE

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION

THESE two last instances indeed may possibly have been no more than fictions, invented by the teachers of oratory, as subjects for declamation, in order to exercise their scholars. The power of this council is however fully proved by the other examples, and much more by those religious wars which were undertaken by their authority, and which the reader will find related at large in the following history.

WHILE the generous principles, on which this illustrious body was first formed, continued to preserve their due vigour, the Amphictyons of consequence were respectable, august, and powerful. When the nation itself began to degenerate, its representative of course shared in the general corruption. Selfish, luxurious, and venal constituents committed the care of their interests to men who gratified their passions, with an intent to abuse the trust reposed in them. We find that, in the time of Philip, the popular leaders, in one particular state, were so totally lost to all sense of decency, that

that they openly avowed their prostitution and corruption, which were made a matter of mirth to their fellow-citizens. And, as the degeneracy was in a great degree universal through Greece, it seems highly probable, that most of those, who were deputed to sit in the council of the Amphiotyons, came prepared to earn the wages of iniquity, and to devote themselves entirely to the service of a crafty and enterprising prince, who could pay them liberally, without regard to their own honour, the interest of their community, or the general good of Greece. And the natural and necessary consequences of such depravity were weakness and contempt.

THE decline of this council we may therefore date from the time when Philip king of Macedon began to practise with its members, and prevailed to have his kingdom annexed to the Hellenic body. It continued, however, for ages after the destruction of Grecian liberty, to assemble and to exercise some remains of its authority.

* in loc.
cit.

Ibid.

rity. Not only the Phocians, but the Lacedaemonians, and all the Dorians, are said by Pausanias * to have been excluded from the council at the conclusion of the second sacred war. The Phocians, however, afterwards recovered their seat by the services which they performed in defence of Delphi, when that city was besieged by the Gauls. When Augustus, the Roman emperor, had built Nicopolis, in honour of his victory at Actium, he ordered that this new city should be admitted into the council, and enjoy the power of suffrage, which was before possessed by the Magnetes, Maleans, Ænians, and Phthiotes (who were now ordered to unite, and to make one Amphictyonic state with Thessaly) and by the Dolopes (a people at that time lost). In the time of Pausanias, who lived in the reign of Antoninus Pius, the Amphictyonic cities were thirty; but of these the cities of Athens, Delphi, and Nicopolis, only sent their deputies constantly, the rest at particular times in rotation. But as their care was now entirely confined to the rites of their

Prid. Not.
in Chron.
Marm.
p. 127.

their idolatrous worship ; and as these came to be forbidden in the time of Constantine ; this famous council of Amphictyons seems to have fallen, together with their temple and their religion.

THE

OF THE COUNCIL OF AMPHICTYONS.

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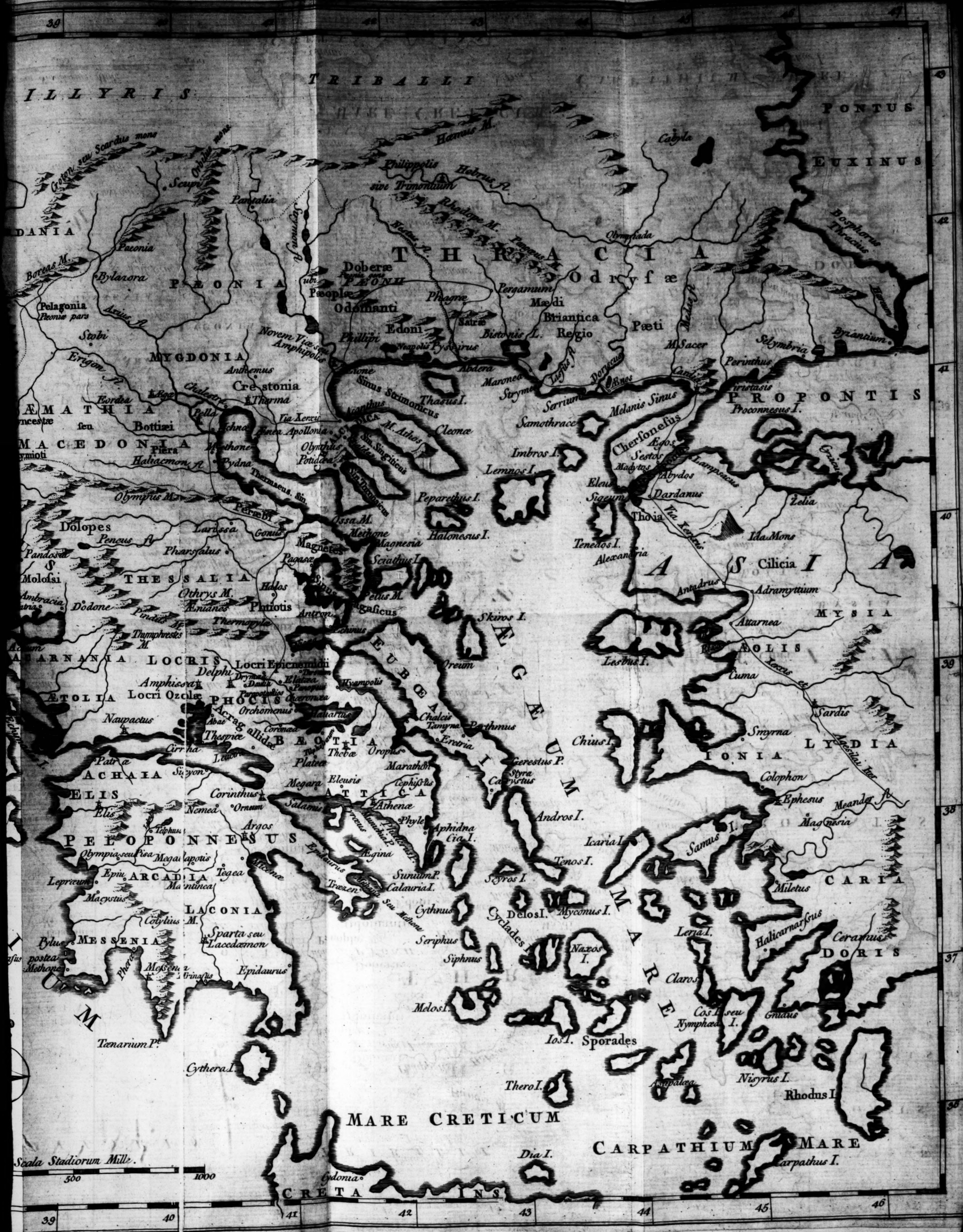
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ANTIENT GREECE
and the
ADJACENT COUNTRIES
designed
for
Leland's Demosthenes.



Scala Stadiorum Mille.
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE AND REIGN
OF
PHILIP
KING OF MACEDON.

BOOK THE FIRST.

VOL. I.

B

THE
HISTORY OF THE
MIDDLE REGION

OF THE
MIDDLE REGION
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THE

THE LIFE AND REIGN OF
THE
LIFE AND REIGN
OF
PHILIP
KING OF MACEDON.

BOOK THE FIRST.

SECTION I.

THE founder of the Macedonian greatness, whose actions are to be the subject of this history, was by no means of the number of those princes who were assisted by the advantages of an illustrious country, who inherited the opulence and force of splendid and extensive dominions, or were strengthened by the acquisitions, and animated by the achievements, of a long train of renowned ancestry.

BOOK I.
SECT. I.

Book I.

To his own abilities alone did PHILIP owe his elevation; and appears equally great, and equally the object of admiration, in surmounting the difficulties attending on his infant power, as in his maturer and more extensive fortune. But before we proceed to relate those actions in which his vigour, courage, and policy, were so eminently displayed; before we attempt to trace his gradual progress through all the various obstacles which surrounded him, to that consummate greatness which his ambition presented as the proper object of his views, and his abilities happily acquired; it will be previously necessary, to detain the reader for a while, by a brief account of that kingdom which he governed, and of those actions of his predecessors, which tend more immediately to illustrate THE HISTORY OF PHILIP.

Crophii
Antiq. Ma-
ced. p. 7.

THE kingdom of Macedon, in its most flourishing condition, (as a comparison of the different descriptions which antiquity affords directs us to determine) contained all that extent of territory, which lies to the north of Thessaly and Epirus, separated from the one, by the mountains Pelion, Olympus, and Ossa; and from the other, by Pindus and the Chaonian mountains. The river Nessus, and the Egean sea, divided by three peninsulas, into the

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the Thermaic, Toronaic, Singitic, and Strymonic bays, were its eastern boundaries. On the north, the mountains Pangæus, Hoemus, Orbelus, and Scardus, divided and protected it from the Dardani, Triballi, and Illyrians. On the west it was washed by the Adriatic and Ionian sea, extending on that side from the river Lissus, to the Chelidnus, and the entrance into Epirus. Within this tract, the ancient geographers recount no less than one hundred and fifty different people, who, in the earlier times, lived independent of each other; enacted their distinct laws, and administered their several governments, while their habit, language, and unpolished manners, were the same. Nor did Macedon acquire that extent which hath been described, but by a slow and gradual progress, and in a long series of years: when the abilities of that prince, who is the subject of this history, enabled him to reduce all the neighbouring powers; to extend his territories far beyond their ancient limits, and to add his country, hitherto obscure and barbarous, to the renowned body of Greece.

SECT. I.

Plin. Hist.
Nat. l. 4.
c. 10.

Pomp. Mela
de situ Orbis
l. 2. c. 3.

CARANUS, an Argian by birth, and a descendant from Hercules in the sixteenth degree, according to * Velleius, is said to have been the original founder of this kingdom. The difficul-

CARANUS.
Justin l. 7.
c. 2.

* l. 2. c. 6.

Book I.

Justin ut supra.

ties of his family, or his own ambition, determined him to forsake his native country, according to the custom of those early ages, to seek some new settlement, and to create that power and fortune for himself, which his native land denied him. At the head of a chosen band of Greeks, whom fortune had obliged, or glory animated, to the undertaking, he marched out, and pierced into the midland part of that district which hath been described, then called Emathia; and encamped in the neighbourhood of Edessa its capital. On a sudden, the sky was overcast, a great storm arose, and a herd of goats was observed to fly for shelter to the city. The oracle was said to have promised, that "goats should conduct him to his settlement:" the present accident recalled this prediction to his mind; and, thus encouraged, his men flew after these their destined leaders; and surprized Edessa. In commemoration of this event, Caranus, now lord of the city, changed its name to *Ægae*: and goats, which are called by that name among the Greeks, were appointed the ensigns of his army, and of his new country. The neighbouring people soon rose up in arms to oppose this new settlement, but proved unequal to Caranus and his valiant Greeks. * Pausanias, in his description of Chaeronea, records a tradition, which hath been thought worthy

* In Borot.
p. 315.
Univ. Hist.
Fol. Vol. 3.
p. 271.

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to be observed, as it is an instance of the manner by which maxims and customs come to be established in kingdoms, and of which posterity frequently find it difficult to assign a reasonable cause. Among other princes, against whom Caranus was obliged to turn his arms, he attacked Cissaeus, the sovereign of a small territory, south of his new kingdom, and having defeated him, erected a trophy according to the Grecian custom. An enormous lion, which hunger had driven from a forest in the neighbourhood of mount Olympus, fell on this trophy, overturned and demolished it. This the conqueror understood as a warning from heaven to treat the vanquished with a juster moderation, instead of insulting and irritating them by those monuments of their defeat. From that time, therefore, it became an established rule never to erect a trophy, and was observed as a maxim of state by his successors. But whether Philip and Alexander paid a strict attention to this maxim, as the author abovementioned asserts, may come to be considered hereafter.

Sec. I.

FROM henceforward Caranus sought to gain the affection of the neighbouring nations, and to reconcile them to his government, rather than to oppress or extirpate them. In their defence, or to repel a danger which threatened his settlement,

Just. l. 7.

Book I.

* An. M.
4387, ac-
cording to
Euseb.

settlement, he is said, by the abbreviator of Trogus, to have driven out Midas king of Phrygia, who had possessed himself of some part of the adjacent territory: and thus having gradually reduced or persuaded the several neighbouring states to a submission, he laid the first foundations of the Macedonian empire*.

THE adventurers, who attended Caranus, must have had that valour which the enterprize demanded: his new subjects were possessed of the same virtue, the most obvious and striking proof of merit among a barbarous and unpolished people, and necessary in a disordered age of violence and bloodshed. The king boasted a descent from an illustrious hero, the deity of the warlike, and patron of hardy and brave achievements. Valour therefore naturally became the great distinguishing character of this new kingdom, and was necessarily cultivated and encouraged, as the qualification essential to its very being.

THE principles of civil government which Greece had taught, her sons adopted; and, in all the institutions which the present settlement demanded, a just attention was paid to the subject's liberty and welfare. Though the form was monarchical, yet the regal power was circumscribed.

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cumscribed. The king governed according to the exactest rules of natural equity; so that the Macedonians, saith * Arrian, preserved as great, or greater liberty, than was enjoyed under most of the Grecian commonwealths: and Lucian, in his dialogue between Philip and Alexander, calls them freemen. This was the original constitution; nor was it subverted but with the kingdom. In war the king, though absolute in his command, was yet obliged to treat his soldiers with tenderness and affection; in peace he administered justice, and heard and redressed the grievances of his subjects in person. The present history will afford instances of this custom; and the historian * Livy assures us, it was observed by Perseus, the very last of the royal race of Macedon. The lives of the people were by no means at the disposal of their king: nor even to their latest times could a Macedonian be regularly and legally put to death, until his sentence was confirmed by the people in time of peace, or by the army in the field [A].

Sect. I.

* l. 4.

Crophius,
p. 39, 40.

* l. 41.
c. 20.
l. 42. c. 67.

Curt. l. 6.
c. 8. 25.
Polyb. l. 5.
c. 27.

THEIR religion was also borrowed from Greece, with all its rites and ceremonies. Ju-

[A] De capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo, inquirebat exercitus: in pace erat vulgi: nihil potestas regum valebat nisi prius valuisset auctoritas.

CURTIVS in loco citat.

pitcr

piter their protector, Hercules the founder of the royal race, and Diana the goddess of hunting, the sport of the manly and robust, were held in particular honour by the Macedonians, as appears from many of their coins. Manners, customs, and institutions, were also established, to inspire resolution in the mind, and to give vigour and strength to the body [B].

THUS was the kingdom of Macedon so modelled by the principles of equity, justice, and moderation, in the prince, and valour, and national loyalty, in the people, as to promise happiness and stability; but in its infancy was surrounded by many secret or avowed enemies, many jealous and wavering allies and dependents, equally suspecting and suspected. On the west lay the Lyncestae and Elimiotae; on the north the Pelagonians, Eordians, and Edo-nians; the Botticans and Pierians on the east; and on the south the Magnetes and Dolopians. Most of these people had their particular sove-

[B] THUS we learn from Athenaeus (l. i. p. 18.) that among the Macedonians no one was admitted to lie down at supper, until he had killed, with his spear, a wild boar, in hunting. And thus Aristotle (de Rep. l. 7. c. 2.) hath recorded, that every Macedonian, who had not yet killed his enemy, was obliged to wear a kind of collar, as a mark of his noviciate in military affairs.

reigns,

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reigns, who acknowledged their dependence on Caranus and his successors, or rose up in arms against them, according to the different vicissitudes of their fortune and power.

SECT. I.

AMONG the earlier kings of Macedon, Perdiccas, the first of the name, seems to have been a prince endued with abilities, and favoured by fortune. His history is obscured by the shade of fiction, a circumstance which should persuade us that he had real merit, and that his actions, which we find magnified and distorted by fable, were really worthy of being faithfully recorded, as they were thought worthy of exercising the imaginations of the early writers. The fame of his predecessors was so far lost in the splendour of his reputation, that he is accounted by * Herodotus the first of the Macedonian kings. When full of days he is said to have shewed to his son Argæus the place where he wished to be interred, and where, he likewise directed, that, in all succeeding ages, the bodies of all the royal race should be deposited; declaring, that till this custom was abolished, there should not be wanting one of his line to sit upon the throne. And historians have been superstitious enough to suppose, that this prediction was accomplished by the interment of Alexander in Babylon.

PERDIC-
CAS I.

Herod. 1. 8.
c. 137.

* in loco
cit.

Just. 1. 9.
c. 2.

ARGÆUS,

BOOK I.
ARGÆUS.

Just. l. 9.
c. 2.

ARGÆUS, the son of this prince, together with his immediate successors, are only distinguished by the wars in which they were engaged with the Illyrians, the old and inveterate enemy of the Macedonian power, and other neighbouring nations. These continual wars confirmed the valour of his people, improved their discipline, and extended their reputation: yet checked and awed on one hand by the several states of Greece, who exerted their increasing power, and endeavoured to extend their dominions, both by sea and land; terrified and controuled on the other, by the new erected empire of Asia, formed by the junction of the Median and Persian power in the person of Cyrus; and, at the same time, surrounded by secret enemies, or avowed rivals; the abilities of the Macedonian princes, and the valour of their subjects, seem to have been for a long time exerted rather for the defence, than the enlargement of their boundaries.

AMYNAS
I.

Herod. l. 5.
c. 17.

AT the time when Darius was obliged to make an ignominious retreat into Asia, after his Scythian expedition, he left Megabyzus in Europe with a large army, in order to make such conquests as might retrieve the honour of his arms, and conceal their late disgrace. In pursuance of his instructions, this general sent his ambassadors to all the neighbouring nations to demand earth and

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SECT. I.

and water, the marks of submission and vassalage. Amyntas, who then reigned in Macedon, received the summons; and readily consented to acknowledge his subjection to a power so vastly superior to his own. The Persian emissaries were entertained with all the magnificence which his court could display; and, at their desire, the Macedonians so far complied with the Asiatic manners, that women were introduced to add to the festivity. The indecent freedoms with which these were treated by the Persians, insolent in their acknowledged superiority, and inflamed by wine, were beheld with silent grief by king Amyntas, but by his son Alexander with a livelier and more dangerous indignation. He desired leave for the women to withdraw, under pretence of preparing for the entertainment of these guests, and in their places introduced as many youths, disguised in female habits, who instantly returned the lewd caresses of the Persians, by plunging their daggers in their hearts. And when Megabyzus sent Bubaris, one of his principal officers, to enquire after the ambassadors, the young prince contrived to elude the enquiry, by captivating Bubaris with the charms of his sister. With her the Persian wedded; the massacre was passed over in oblivion; and the Persian court acknowledged the Macedonians as faithful and honourable allies.

Herod. l. 5.
c. 21.

ALEXANDER

BOOK I.

ALEXAN-
DER,JUR. I. 7.
c. 4.

ALEXANDER had succeeded to his father's throne, when Xerxes invaded Greece. The alliance made with an illustrious and powerful Persian, secured him from all the dangers of this invasion, and even [c] an enlargement of his territories. Nor doth history

[c] THE earlier state of this kingdom, and the gradual enlargement of it, which was partly the work of this Alexander, will be distinctly conceived by attending to the following passage of Thucydides.—Τῶν Μακεδόνων ποὶ καὶ Λυκηγῆται καὶ Ἑλιμιώται, καὶ ἄλλα ἰδιῶ ἑπαινοθῆναι, ἀΐξοντο μαχῇ μὲν ἐν τοτοῖς καὶ ὑπὸ βασιλείας δ' ἔχει καθ' αὐτά. Τῶν δὲ περὶ θαλάσσης τῶν Μακεδόνων, Ἀλεξάνδρος ὁ Περδικκῆ πατὴρ, καὶ οἱ προγονοὶ αὐτοῦ Τημενίδαι τοὶ ἀρχαῖοι ὄντες ἐξ Ἀργυροῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκίησαντο, καὶ ἔβασίλευσαν, ἀναστῆσαις μαχῇ ἐκ μὲν Πιερικῆς Πιερίας.—Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βοθλίας καλυμνικῆς Βοθλίας, οἱ τῶν ἡμερῶν χαλκιδικῶν οἰκῶσι. Τῆς δὲ Παιονίας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ ποταμοῦ, γεννῇ τινα καθήκοντες ἀνέθεντο μαχῇ Πέλλης καὶ θαλάσσης ἐκίησαντο καὶ πέραν Ἀξίου, μέχρι Στρυμόνος, τῆς Μυγδονίας καλυμνικῆς, Ἠδώνας ἐξέλασαντες, ἡγεῖσθαι. Ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἑορδίας καλυμνικῆς Ἑορδίας. (ὅτι οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, βραχὺ δὲ τι αὐτῶν περὶ Φυσκαὶ καὶ Ὠκελίας) καὶ ἐξ Ἀλμωπίας, Ἀλμωπίας. Ἐκράνησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδιῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες ὅτοι, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσιν, τοὶ τε Ἀδριανῶντες καὶ Γεργασιοὶ καὶ Βισαλλιοὶ, καὶ Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν πολλοὶ. οἱ δὲ ξυμπὰς Μακεδόνες καλεῖσθαι, καὶ Περδικκῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου, βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἦν, ὅτι Σινταλκῆς ἑστῆς. In the general name of Macedonians, are comprized the Lyncestians and Helimiotians, and other nations lying upwards, allied to, and dependent upon, the rest, yet governed as distinct kingdoms. The dominion over the maritime Macedonia was first obtained by Alexander, father of Perdiccas, and his ancestors the Temenidae, who derived their original from Argos. These, by a successful war,

had

history attribute the prosperity of his kingdom, more to the protection of Persia, than to the virtues and abilities of Alexander himself, which were known and celebrated through Greece. When a youth, he had passed over into that country to learn and practise those arts which were esteemed ornamental and honourable. He appeared at the Olympic games, amidst the robust and accomplished champions and competitors for glory: whence the national pride of the assembly would have removed him as a foreigner and barbarian. But the prince boldly asserted his right of assisting at those famous

Strabo. I.

Herod. I. 5.
c. 2.

had driven the Pierians out of Pieria.—From the region called Bottia, they also expelled the Bottiæans, who now live upon the confines of the Chalcidæans. And further, they seized in Pæonia, near the river Axius, a narrow tract of land running along from the mountains down to Pella and the sea; and got possession of that which is called Mygdonia, lying between the Axius and the Strymon, by driving away the Edonians. They expelled the Eordians out of what is now called Eordia, (of whom the greatest part were destroyed, but a small number dwell now about Physca;) and out of Almopia, the Almopians. These Macedonians also conquered other nations, of which they are still in possession, as Anthemus, Grestonia, and Bisaltia, and a large part of the territories belonging to the other Macedonians. But this whole tract of country hath the general name of Macedonia: and Perdiccas, son of Alexander, reigned over them, when Sitalces formed his invasion.

SMITH.

Book I.

Herod. I. 8.
c. 140.I. 9. c. 43,
44.

games, as being by descent an Argian, and was admitted even to contend in the exercises, and bore away the prize from those who had despised him as unworthy of sharing in the Grecian entertainments. A prince of genius and renown, admired in Greece, beloved and revered in his own kingdom, and respected by the Persians, both on account of his own virtues and his sister's marriage, was esteemed by Mardonius a fit ambassador to negotiate a separate peace with Athens, that he might thus weaken the force of Greece. In this negotiation, though the propositions were rejected with a disdain which history hath recorded with wonder and applause, yet the ambassador himself was acknowledged as a friend. And however his present interest might oblige him to adhere to Persia, yet a prince of his endowments, could not but admire and love the Grecian virtue. He soon after discovered his real attachments, by informing the Greeks, even at the hazard of his life, of the intentions and motions of Mardonius [D].

[D] This prince's actions are here related with a brevity which would be unpardonable, were it my present purpose to give an accurate history of the earlier state of Macedon. The delightful account which Herodotus gives of these transactions, will abundantly reward the learned reader, who may turn to the passage quoted in the margin.

He,

PHILIP KING OF MACEDON.

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He had three sons, Perdicas, Alcetas, and Philip Tharaleus. The first succeeded to the throne; but his brothers disputed his pretensions, and rose up in arms to dispossess him. The neighbouring nations beheld, with envy and discontent, the accessions of territory which Macedon had received in the reign of Alexander. The Athenians were powerful by their colonies and allies, their dependent towns and districts on the sea-coasts, and either to secure, or to enlarge their territories, found it convenient to assist his rivals. Greece was at this time in commotion: the Lacedemonians began to think of establishing a power in Thrace; while the Persians, hitherto the great support of Macedon, were weak and contemptible. A kingdom thus circumstanced, required a prince of vigour and abilities: and Perdicas seems to have inherited all the virtues of his father. He supported himself against his rivals and neighbouring enemies: and, by his art and policy, made both Athens and Lacedemon serve to strengthen his power, at the time when he appeared, and professed, to assist them in the establishment of their own.

SECT. I.

PERDIC-
CAS II.

Thucyd.
l. 1.

THE mutual jealousies subsisting between these two states and king Perdicas, was one great cause of the Peloponnesian war. The actions

Book I.

of this prince, and the share which he bore in the Grecian contest, are distinctly recorded by Thucydides: here it is only necessary to point out some particulars, tending more immediately to illustrate the present history.

AT the first rise of the famous Peloponnesian war, the Athenians, as hath been observed, had a considerable power on the coasts of Thrace; and controuled the King of Macedon by their tributary and dependent towns and districts, bordering on his territories. All that tract, which lay towards the coast between the Thermaic and Singitic bays, was inhabited by Greeks originally from Chalcis, a city in the island Euboea, who all acknowledged the jurisdiction of Athens, afforded that state the convenience of their ports and harbours, and aided and secured its commerce with the upper Thrace. But when the Corinthians and Corcyraeans began to quarrel about Epidamnus, and that the Athenians took a part in this contest, the Corinthians persuaded Potidaea, one of the chief towns in the Chalcidian region, to revolt from Athens; while Perdiccas, to revenge himself on a people who had supported the pretensions of his competitors, urged the other Chalcidians to abandon their settlements on the coast, to fortify Olynthus,

Thucyd.
l. 1.

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thus, a city about sixty stadia from Potydaea, built near the river Strymon, and which preserved a communication with the sea, by means of the port of Myceberna; to make this their residence, and to shake off their dependence on the Athenians. His instances were so far successful, that Olynthus was made the chief seat of their power; and all the other cities united in interest, and were governed by this their capital. Such a revolution was considered by the Athenians as an outrage on their lawful authority. They declared war against the Olynthian confederacy, and laid siege to Potidaea. This city was, after some difficulties, reduced; but the Chalcidians found means to support their independency, and protracted the war to a considerable length. These practices of Perdiccas, however necessary and politic at this time, yet in the end proved the means of raising up a powerful and dangerous rival to the Macedonians; and had lasting and important effects, both on that kingdom, and on Greece. In the course of the disputes, which thus arose, the attack of the famous city of Amphipolis, of which so frequent mention must be made in the progress of this work, is also worthy of particular notice.

Sect. I.

Locceſini
Not. in Arg.
Olin. 1.

Thucyd. at
sup.

THIS city was seated on the Strymon, in that narrow gut, where the river divides into two branches,

Book I.

Thucyd. I. 4.

Olivier Hist.
I. I. p. 67.

Thucyd. I. 4.

Echin. de
fals. leg.
sect. 14.

Thucyd. I. 4.

branches, washing the town on each side, and falling into the sea at the distance of two stadia. At the mouth of the principal of these branches stood Eion, a small town, which served as a port to Amphipolis, and rendered the commerce with the upper Thrace easy and convenient. The place where Amphipolis stood, was originally called Enneodoi, that is, the nine ways; possibly because the roads which led through Macedon and Thrace, issued from that point. Aristagoras of Miletus attempted to settle there, after his revolt from the Persians; but was prevented by the Edonians, a people of Thrace, who then inhabited that district. The Athenians, fully sensible of the value of its situation, took care to assert a claim to it, and deduced their title from Acamas, the son of Theseus, who they said received it as a dowry with his wife. Thirty-two years after the attempt of Aristagoras, they sent thither a colony of ten thousand men, who drove out the Edonians; but attempting to push their victory to the upper Thrace, they were surrounded, and cut to pieces, by a general confederacy of the people of that country, who suspected the new colony. At length, Agnon, the son of Nicias, established himself in this place, with a colony which the Athenians sent thither twenty-nine years after their first attempt. He expelled the Edonians, and

and raised a fortification round from one arm of the river to the other, so that the new settlement had now the form of a triangle, whose base was towards the sea, and whose two sides were defended by the branches of the Strymon, which was considerably deep, and formed a morass at the upper angle. Here the Athenians continued peaceable possessors till the Peloponnesian war broke out, and Perdiccas spirited up the Lacedemonians to carry their arms into these parts, and to endeavour to dispossess them from a settlement of such importance to their commerce; from whence, besides a large pecuniary revenue, they drew all their materials for building their ships; and which he must necessarily have regarded with uneasiness and jealousy, as it absolutely commanded his kingdom on that side. Hither, therefore, Brasidas, the Lacedemonian general, was now sent: and partly by force of arms, partly by address, and an equitable attention to the liberty and welfare of the inhabitants, wrested Amphipolis from the Athenians; who, fully sensible of their loss, and naturally impatient of every disappointment, banished Thucydides the famous historian, who had been unsuccessful in his attempts to secure the city. And when Perdiccas shewed some inclination to desert the Lacedemonians, another army was sent from Athens to recover Amphipolis,

Thucyd J. 4.

Book I.

Thuryd. l. 5.

polis, under the command of Cleon; which produced the engagement where the general on each side fell. The people of Amphipolis interred Brasidas in the most honourable manner, acknowledged him as their real founder, and demolished all the monuments of Agnon the son of Nicias; yet the city was yielded the next year to the Athenians, by a treaty concluded with Lacedemon, and continued under their jurisdiction, until the destruction of their liberties, by the victory of Lyfander.

In all these disputes, Perdicas had a considerable share; and appears to have acted a part, which the interest of his own kingdom recommended; but which, by no means, discovered a strict and honourable adherence to his engagements.

ARCHE-
LAUS
in Gorg.
p. 471.

Diod. Sic. l.
13. sect. 49.

He was succeeded by Archelaus, his illegitimate son, according to Plato, who speaks with great severity of this prince; the blood which he shed, to secure the possession of his throne, having sullied those great qualities which he afterwards discovered. As his measures for fortifying and strengthening his kingdom, alarmed the neighbouring powers; Pydna, a city of some consequence on his confines, endeavoured, by the assistance of Athens, to shake off its dependence

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ence on Macedon. But, in defiance of all the support which that state detached to her new ally, Archelaus besieged and reduced Pydna to his obedience; and, in order to cut off all future intercourse between this city and the Athenians, he obliged the inhabitants to remove * twenty stadia further from the sea.

Sicr. I.

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BUT this prince was for nothing so remarkable, as his attachment to learning, and its professors. Socrates was invited to, and Euripides entertained at his court. Painters were employed to adorn his palace; and men of genius, of every kind, caressed, rewarded, and encouraged to honour his kingdom by their residence. But the advantages which Macedon might have derived from his temper and abilities, were all cut off by his untimely death. Diodorus relates, that he was killed accidentally in a chace by his favourite Craterus. But the representation of Aristotle * has been thought more probable, who ascribes the death of Archelaus to the ambition of Craterus, and his resentment at being denied his daughter in marriage. The murderer ascended the throne; but, in a few days, met with the same fate; and was removed by an affassination,

Stoborus

Serm. 237.

Arist. Rhe.

l. 2. c. 29.

Plut. Apoph.

Ælian. hist.

var. l. 14.

c. 17.

Diod. Sic. l.

14. sect. 37.

* Polit. l. 5.

sect. 19.

Ælian.

l. 8. c. 9.

THE

BOOK II

ORISTES.
Diod. l. 14.
sect. 37.

ÆROPUS.
Solinus, l. 9.
Diod. l. 14
& 25.

PAUSANIAS.

AMYNTAS II.

Thucyd. l. 1.

Diod. l. 14.
sect. 89.

The peace of Macedon became now totally subverted. Oristes, the infant son of Archelaus, was scarcely seated on the throne, when he fell a victim to the ambition of his tutor Æropus. The disorders and frequent revolutions, which now rose in Macedon, have occasioned a difference in the representations of historians, as to the order of succession. But it is agreed, that Pausanias usurped the throne, either directly, or soon after Æropus; and, after a reign of one year, was succeeded by Amyntas, father of that prince, to whose actions we are now hastening. Amyntas was (according to Thucydides) the son of Philip, the brother of that king Perdiccas, who had so considerable a share in the affairs of Greece, during the course of the Peloponnesian war. He had found means, by the assistance of Syntaces, king of Thrace, and the Athenians, to disturb the reign of Perdiccas, by his attempts to dispossess him. These attempts, however, proved ineffectual; but now having taken the opportunity of the weakness of the throne, and the confusions of the kingdom, to assert his old pretensions more effectually, he attacked, dethroned, and killed Pausanias.

THE succession of Amyntas to the throne of Macedon, seemed to promise a more settled state

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of peace and tranquillity to a kingdom so long harassed by intestine wars and commotions; His brother Dercas governed the province of the Erimotæ; and their mutual harmony contributed to their mutual support. The prince of the Lyncestæ, a neighbouring people, then independent on Macedon, Amyntas contrived to attach firmly to his interest, by his espousal of Eurydicè, the grand-daughter of that prince, and one of the family of the Bæchidæ of the royal race of Corinth.

SECT. I.

Xenop. Hist. Graec. l. 5.

Strab. l. 7. p. 326.

For five years, the vigilance and abilities of Amyntas preserved the peace of Macedon, and defeated all the attempts of Argæus, the brother of Pausanias, who asserted his title to the succession; and practised with the Macedonian nobles, and the neighbouring powers, to engage them in a revolt. But now Bardyllis, king of the Illyrians, a warlike nation, trained, exercised, and improved, by the activity and long experience of their sovereign, invaded Macedon with all his powers; and, while he affected only to support the title of Argæus, determined to gratify his own ambition, by reducing the kingdom to a state of subjection and dependence on Illyria. The courage of Amyntas, and the efforts of his soldiers, proved ineffectual against this formidable enemy. He was defeated in two several

Herod. Hist. l. 2. sect. 62.

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several engagements: the enemy seized his capital, and placed Argæus on the throne, who readily consented to govern under the direction of Bardyllis, and to render the kingdom of Macedon tributary to Illyria.

In this time of general distraction, the cities of the Chalcidian district, being now united into one formidable body, of which Olynthus was the head, seized the occasion of enlarging their territories. They began with the city of Potidaea, which had been reduced under the power and jurisdiction of Athens; fell on the eastern parts of Macedon, and pushed their conquests even to Pella, a city of importance by its situation, and afterwards rendered illustrious by the birth of Alexander. The Thessalians, on their part, though in alliance with Amyntas, seemed resolved to forget their engagements, and to share the spoil of his dominions. The southern provinces were exposed to their invasion, and soon became their prey. Thus despoiled of almost all his dominions, and without hope of being restored, he endeavoured to provide for the peace and security of those places which still continued firm to him, by making a formal cession of them to the Olynthians. They were the only neighbouring power that could dispute them with the Illyrians; and Amyntas deemed

it

Xenop. Hif.
Graec. l. 5.
p. 554.

Dem. in A-
ristocrat.

Diod. l. 14.
sect. 39.

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it less dishonourable to see them dependent on a confederacy, composed of Grecian cities, than to expose them to the fury of a barbarous enemy, or the resentment of a rival, who must consider an adherence to their prince, as in the highest degree criminal. The Olynthians took possession of them, and maintained their title against all the attempts of Illyria and Argæus; still continuing to receive the revenues of these provinces, which they had thus annexed to their own dominions, during the short interval of Argæus his power.

Diod. l. 15.
sect. 19.

Thus was Amyntas, for some time, compelled to yield to the present storm, and to retire in expectation of better fortune. When his rival, according to some historians, had enjoyed the royal title and authority for two years, the Thessalians were prevailed upon to give such assistance to Amyntas, as enabled him once more to ascend the throne. What were the inducements which now moved this people, history hath not mentioned; but possibly they might have been disappointed in the advantages they proposed from the disorders of Macedon; and envied those, whose attempts to dismember that kingdom, had been more successful; or even found it necessary, for their own security, to check their increasing power. But though the king

l. 14. sect.
92.

king had, by this assistance, rescued a part of his dominions from the Illyrians, yet still a considerable part remained in the hands of the Olynthian league, a people who seemed determined to support that right, with which the necessity of his affairs had obliged Amyntas to invest them. His honour, and even his safety, called on him to endeavour to recover these territories: he first began by negotiation, and formally reclaimed them, as if his cession had been but temporary and occasional: the Olynthians, on their part, peremptorily rejected his demand, and declared themselves fully resolved to maintain their possession by force; when commotions arose in the Chalcidian district, highly favourable to the interests of Amyntas, and which greatly facilitated his design of reducing the Olynthian power.

As Olynthus had erected itself into a kind of sovereignty over the other neighbouring cities, some of them seem to have beheld with impatience their splendour diminished; and those advantages, which all had joined to acquire, and all had equally a right to share, confined, for the most part, to that which now called itself the ruling city. Apollonia and Acanthus, the two most considerable, next to Olynthus, had expressed their jealousies and dissatisfactions; and,

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and, having shewn some inclination to detach themselves from the confederacy, were threatened by the Olynthians with force and severity. These two cities, therefore, consulted for their security and revenge, by sending deputies to Sparta, in order to alarm that state with apprehensions of the increasing greatness of Olynthus. This city, they observed, had already possessed itself of a considerable part of the Macedonian territories, and even of Pella, the place of greatest consequence in that kingdom. Insolent in these important acquisitions, the Olynthians began to treat the rest of the confederacy as subjects and vassals; were endeavouring to strengthen themselves by an alliance with Athens and Boeotia; a junction which could not but have the most important consequences; that it became the Spartans to consider how to guard against the danger with which they themselves were threatened by so formidable a coalition; to redress the injuries, and maintain the independency of the Chalcidian cities; and to crush the ambitious efforts of Olynthus, before any further accessions of power might frustrate all such attempts.

SPARTA made no difficulty of undertaking this quarrel; and, encouraged by the prospect of

Book I. of so powerful an assistant, king Amyntas collected his forces, and declared war against Olynthus. His fortune began to wear a fairer aspect. His wife Eurydicè had already born two sons, Alexander and Perdiccas: and now his third son Philip, destined by providence to raise his paternal kingdom to a degree of greatness far beyond all present expectations, first saw the light.

* Petav. v. 2.

* Euseb.
Chron.

† l. 16. p.
572.

Oliv. l. 1.
p. 13.

* l. 14. p.
92.

Chronologers * and historians generally agree in fixing the birth of this prince to the second year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad. Strabo † hath assigned Pella as the place of his birth. If so, the apprehensions of the Spartan invasion must have determined the Olynthians to evacuate this city. As Pella is said to be in their hands in the speech of the Acanthian deputy at Sparta, recorded in the fifth book of the history of Grecian affairs by Xenophon, the French author of the history of Philip concludes, that he was born near Mount Pindus, at the time of his father's exile; and warns his readers against what he apprehends to be a mistake of Strabo, and such modern compilers as have been guided by his authority. But, whatever difficulties or objections may be suggested about the place, the time of his birth is clearly ascertained, and will by no means agree to the time assigned by this writer; as it appears by the account of * Diodorus,

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dorus, and is agreed by chronologers, that the
restoration of Amyntas must be fixed to the
second year of the ninety-seventh Olympiad.

Sæc. I.

Euseb.
Chron.
Petav.

EVERY addition to the family of Amyntas,
must have been regarded by him, and his adhe-
rents, as an omen of happy fortune; as the ora-
cles pronounced, that Macedon was to be emi-
nently flourishing under the reign of one of his
sons. They are even said to have pointed out
the new-born prince by name, as the destined in-
strument of the happiness of this kingdom [B].

Justin. l. 7.
c. 6.

An ancient Sibylline verse is recorded by * Pau-
sanias, importing, that the first grandeur, and
the final ruin of Macedon, were both to be the

* in Achai.
p. 214.

[B] Αὐχούης βασιλεύσι Μακεδόνις Ἀργιαδῶν,
Ἵμιν κοίρανον ἀγαθόν καὶ πῆμα θανάτου.
Ἦτοι ὁ μὲν πρότερος πόλεισι λαοῖσι τ' ἀνακλᾷ
Θηοὶ δ' ὁ δὲ ὀψέτερος Ἴμην ὥπιοι πάσαι ὁδοὶ
Διμήθεις ἐσπερίοισιν ὑπὸ ἀνδράσιν ἡνωῖς τε.

PAUSAN.

What boots the pride which high descent inspires?

And what, thy race, from royal Argian fires?

Hear Macedonia!—From a Philip's reign,

Expect thine happiness: expect thy bane.

The first, great prince! shall distant lands obey;

And realms confess his delegated sway.

The last, O fatal name! what woes attend!

With him thy conquests, honours, all shall end:

From east, from west, behold thy foes arise!

And in one hapless hour thine empire dies.

VOL. I.

D

work

Book I. work of a Philip. It is too clear and explicit not to have been made after the event: however, it still might have been the interest of Amyntas, in a season so critical, at the eve of a dangerous and hazardous war, to amuse and encourage his barbarous and ignorant subjects, with predictions and oracles; and to improve this incident, of the birth of his son, into a pledge of future happiness, vouchsafed by heaven itself.

WHILE he was thus encouraging his subjects, collecting his army, and making every provision in his power for war, he had the pleasure of finding, that the Spartans concurred so warmly in his views, that, in conjunction with their allies, they declared war against Olynthus; resolved to raise ten thousand men for this service; and, in the mean time, dispatched Eudamidas, with two thousand Lacedemonians, in order to keep those cities firm in their revolt, or disaffection, which were declared, or secret enemies to Olynthus. To have the clearer conception of the nature and reasons of the conduct of Sparta on this occasion; a conduct which had the most important consequences, and proved the source of many great events, which the following history must display; it will be convenient

Xen. Hist.
Graec. l. 5.
p. 556.

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SECT. I.

nient to recall to the reader's mind the character, dispositions, and present circumstances, of this famous people.

WHOEVER is in the least acquainted with Grecian history, must know, that their legislator, by the severity of his institutions, formed the Spartans into a robust, hardy, valiant nation, made for war; that their early achievements, in the field, soon raised their military reputation; inspired them with exalted sentiments of glory, and vast designs of power; and that under the appearance of a rigid discipline, manners strictly corrected, and a life of frugality and labour, they concealed an inordinate ambition. The victory of their general Lyfander, over their great rival state, seemed to have confirmed them in that supreme authority, to which they had incessantly aspired, from the moment that their foreign enemies had been driven out of Greece. An intemperate and tyrannical abuse of power, was the immediate consequence of this superiority, which, joined with an unreasonable partiality in favour of their own form of government, (now arbitrarily and cruelly imposed on all the states which they had reduced to subjection) made them soon regarded as the odious and haughty masters, not as the protectors, of

Greece. A natural love of liberty, animated by the patriot zeal of one illustrious Athenian, soon overturned the power of those tyrants, whom they had imposed on that state. The other Greeks saw this event with secret satisfaction, and some even dared to deny their assistance to support the tottering dominion of the thirty, and to rivet the chains with which their countrymen (for so the Greeks regarded each other) were cruelly loaded. But, although the original constitution was thus re-established at Athens, still the Spartan sovereignty was acknowledged and felt in Greece. The genius of this state, and the support of this its sovereignty, required a continued course of action and war. Disputes and contests were perpetually excited; and the Grecian states attacked, harassed, and oppressed, by a people, whose domestic course of severity rendered them insensible to the distresses of their neighbours. Their restless ambition, at length, prompted them to send their king Agelilaus into Asia; there to extend his conquests, and the glory of his country, under pretence of supporting the independency of the Grecian colonies. The king of Persia, alarmed at his progress, and well informed and experienced in the method of securing his own peace, by arming the Grecians against each other, wisely sends

sends his emissaries to foment the discontents already conceived against Sparta; and, by the power of money, to induce the states to rise up against an odious, oppressive dominion. The Thebans were the first to embrace the design; the Athenians eagerly concurred; Argos and Corinth joined in the confederacy; a pretence of quarrel was soon found out; and the defeat and death of Lysander, the soul of all the ambitious designs of Sparta, obliged this state to recall Agesilaus to the defence of his native land. This prince, while yet upon his march, receives an account of the naval victory gained at Cnidus by Conon the Athenian; the fatal stroke to the ambition and power of his country: whose allies now began to revolt. Sparta itself was forced to that mortifying measure of making overtures of accommodation to Persia; and, by the peace of Antalcidas, to renounce all the advantages gained in Asia, to abandon the Asiatic colonies to the Persian, and to acknowledge the right of all the several Grecian states to freedom and independency.

THUS controuled, dismembered, and reduced, Sparta still retained a passion for pre-eminence and sovereignty; exerted an affected superiority over the lesser states; and, under pretence

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of supporting the late accommodation, dictated such terms, and, by force of arms, made such dispositions in the several communities, as might raise her own reputation, and convince others of their weakness; at the same time fully sensible how essentially the late events affected her real strength and grandeur, and retaining the most inveterate resentment against Thebes, whose practices had obliged the Spartan arms to retreat from Asia, and had produced the late revolutions of power, by which their old rivals had been once again enabled to dispute the sovereignty of Greece.

FROM this affectation of appearing the supreme umpire and general protector of the injured, and with these dispositions of resentment and revenge against their late opposers, the Spartans now engaged in the war with Olynthus. Eudamidas, their general, fortified some towns in Thrace, secured their attachment by his garrisons, and became master of Potidaea; which, by its voluntary submission, seems to have been displeased with its new masters. In the mean time Phoebidas marches to reinforce his brother Eudamidas with a powerful body. He encamps near Thebes, and there renders his expedition famous, by boldly and unexpectedly, in
time

Xenop. Hist.
Graec. l. 5.
p. 556.

p. 557.

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time of peace and security, seizing the [F] citadel of Thebes; an action which history hath justly branded as the great disgrace of Spartan integrity, and which proved the source of those calamities, which afterwards fell on this state, as a punishment of so outrageous a violation of public faith. With an unaccountable and ridiculous inconsistency the Spartans kept possession of the citadel, yet censured and recalled Phœbidas; and Teleutias, the brother of one of their kings, was sent to command in the expedition against Olynthus.

Sacr. J.

Plut. in vitis
Pelopid.
Agésil.

THIS general urged king Amyntas to unite his force with that of Lacedemon against their common enemy. His brother Derdas was also warned of the danger to be apprehended from the ambition of Olynthus, and invited to assist in crushing a power which might prove as dangerous to his peace, as to that of the Macedonians. These two princes embraced the favourable occasion of fighting in their own cause with the arms of Sparta, and took the field with a well-appointed body of horse, which proved

Xen. Hist.
Graec. l. c.
p. 560, 561.

[F] It was an ancient fortress built by Cadmus, 1519 years before the Christian era, and called after his name Cadmaea. The city of Thebes was afterwards built round this place, and thus the Cadmaea became its citadel. Oliv. l. 1. p. 16.

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of considerable service. Derdas, who commanded in person, displayed both abilities and valour; the Olynthians were defeated, and obliged to shelter themselves, within the walls of their city, from the pursuit of the victorious army. This action closed the first campaign. Derdas and his Macedonians were dismissed with the respect due to their conduct, but did not spend the winter inactively. This warlike prince found a favourable opportunity of sallying forth from Apollonia, on a large body of Olynthian cavalry who were ravaging the adjacent country; whom he defeated, and drove to their very walls with considerable slaughter.

Xen. Hist.
Græc. l. 5.
p. 560, 561.

THE next season proved more favourable to the Olynthians. Teleutias appeared at the head of his troops, and began to lay waste their territories; when the enemy issued out, and seemed disposed to give him battle. The Spartan general, with contempt and indignation, ordered some light-armed forces to charge them: these the Olynthians, by an affected retreat, drew on, till they had passed a river which cut them off from all assistance; then furiously attacked and destroyed them, together with their commander. Teleutias, naturally warm and impatient, now lost all remains of temper, and hurried on with his main body to attack the enemy; who still retired,

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retired, and were pursued with passion and resentment, rather than with caution and discipline. Sect. I.

The Spartans soon found themselves before the walls of Olynthus, in confusion and disorder, attacked by missile weapons from the fortifications, and furiously charged by a general sally; unable either to oppose the enemy, or to retreat with any order or safety. Here Teleutias, by his fall, paid the price of his temerity; and his army fled with precipitation to the adjacent cities in the interests of Sparta and Macedon.

BUT this defeat neither discouraged the Spartans nor Macedonians. Agefipolis, one of the kings of Sparta, was sent to pursue the war; and Amyntas, and Derdas, both united with him, and exerted extraordinary and successful efforts. The sickness and death of Agefipolis, for a while, suspended their operations. Polistides, his successor, for whom the decision of this quarrel was reserved, shut up the Olynthians within their walls, and soon obliged them to demand a capitulation. Their deputies were sent to Sparta, where a peace was soon concluded, upon terms rather more favourable than their present difficulties could claim. They were obliged to acknowledge those as their allies, with whom Lacedemon was thus connected; to assist this state, and to march under its standard. These conditions

Xen. Hist.
Graec. l. 5.
p. 564.

p. 564.

Book I. ditions secured Amyntas in the peaceful possession of his kingdom; restored a considerable part of his territories, and enabled him to appear with splendour. He fixed his residence at Pella, the city of greatest figure and consequence in Macedon: and here his young son Philip received his earliest education. His alliances in Greece were the means of deterring his barbarous neighbours from disturbing the tranquillity of his government; and the jealousies of these barbarous neighbours, rendered it necessary for him to be ever careful to embrace all occasions of strengthening those alliances; to have a constant attention to the affairs of Greece; and, according to the different fluctuations of power, to attach himself to that state which appeared most likely to afford him an effectual protection. The Spartans, by the reduction of Olynthus, seemed to have attained the full summit of authority and grandeur. They counted among their allies, that is, their dependents and subjects, almost all the communities in Greece. Athens, though enabled to maintain its liberty, was still incapable of contending for superiority: and Thebes was secured by the Spartan garrison, which commanded its citadel, and the Spartan governors who ruled the city; and who had banished all those that had been suspected of the least design to disturb the

Excerpt.
Strab. p.
330.

Plot. in
Pelop.
Corn. Nep.
in Epami-
non.

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the present settlement. But the fortitude and patriotism of Pelopidas, one of those illustrious exiles, raised an unexpected storm, which first shook, and, in the end, overturned all this great fabric of power. This man, seconded by Epaminondas, that truly great and virtuous Theban, and assisted by some other of his gallant countrymen, determined to relieve his native land from the present oppression; killed the Spartan tyrants, and (supported by some forces which the Athenians had sent to assist this daring enterprise, against the enemies of their power,) recovered the citadel, restored liberty to Thebes, and laid the foundation of its future greatness. The better to support the war which this event produced, the Thebans determined to engage the Athenians in a contest with their common enemy, and by secret practices prevailed on the Spartan general to make an attempt to seize the Athenian port. Justly incensed at this injurious attempt, fired with revenge, jealousy, and ambition, Athens determined to seize this favourable opportunity of joining in a confederacy against her rival, which had a fair prospect of success; engaged vigorously in the war, and, by her repeated successes, recovered the empire of the sea, and this in a manner which had a fair and popular appearance, and enabled her orators to declaim on her generous concern for relieving

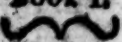
SECT. I.

Plut. in Pelop.

Diod. Sic. l. 15.

Xen. Hist. Graec. l. 5.
Diod. l. 15.

Dem. in Phil. 2.
& alibi.

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relieving the oppressed, and her invariable attachment to the liberty of Greece. Thus did the Athenians divide the sovereignty with Sparta; but saw, with some concern, the rising greatness of the Thebans, and therefore were obliged to use their advantages with moderation; and when the king of Persia, who had occasion for some Grecian troops to assist him in a war against Egypt, sent his ambassadors to recommend a renewal of the late peace, an accommodation was readily embraced, and a convention held to adjust such terms as might secure the tranquillity of Greece.

Xen. Diod.
 ut supra,

THE king of Macedon, duly attentive to these events, thought it necessary to gain the friendship and alliance of the Athenians, who now appeared the great rising power of Greece; and, for this purpose, presented an advantage to their view, the most flattering and agreeable, the recovery of Amphipolis. From the time of Lyfander's victory, this city had continued to enjoy its independence under the protection of Lacedemon. A considerable number of Lacedemonians had taken their residence there, and lived in amity with the original inhabitants. But now their late successes had encouraged the Athenians to renew their old pretensions to a place of such consequence to their state; and, in the convention

Philippi
 Litt. ad
 Athen.

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convention held to settle the affairs of Greece, their right to Amphipolis was by them asserted, and acknowledged by the whole assembly. It was even resolved, that they should be reinstated, in full possession, by the general force of Greece, in case of any opposition. Amyntas was the first to confess the justice of their claim, and, by his apparent zeal, so far wrought on the Athenians, that they thought themselves bound to acknowledge him as their friend and ally.

SECT. I.

Eschin. de
fals. leg.
sect. 1.

BUT while the prince was thus wisely engaged in providing for the security of his government, and his policy seemed to promise a perfect and undisturbed tranquillity, in his own family he found that uneasiness and distraction which his foreign enemies could not occasion. His wife Eurydicè, a princess of exalted genius, but of passions evil and ungoverned, having conceived a violent affection for a young nobleman of Macedon, to whom she had given her daughter Euryonè in marriage, formed the detestable project of dispatching her own husband, and giving her son-in-law possession both of his bed and throne. But whether the Macedonian looked with horror on a design so shocking, and, in his surprise and tenderness, communicated it to his wife; or, whether this princess discovered the unwarrantable correspondence and conspiracies of her mother and husband

Justin, l. 7.
c. 4 & 5.

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husband by accident; she defeated the infernal scheme, by disclosing it to Amyntas. The king, too tender in his nature to inflict the full severity of punishment on the mother of his three young princes, was prevailed on to forgive the offence: and history hath suggested, that this proved a fatal weakness; and that his death, which happened soon after, was occasioned by the wicked arts of Eurydice, who suspected the sincerity of his pardon, (conscious how little her offence deserved it) and calmed her apprehensions by dispatching Amyntas.

Olymp.
102. Y. 3.

ALEXAN-
DER II.

Ibid.

ALEXANDER, the eldest of his three legitimate sons, succeeded to the throne; unable, however, to support his dignity with splendour or security. The Illyrians once more rose up in arms, and obliged the king to purchase peace by a tribute, which he agreed to pay, and gave his brother Philip as an hostage and security for the performance of his stipulation. The Illyrians, on their part, seem to have been soon convinced of the integrity of the king of Macedon; as it will appear, that the young prince was, in some time after, sent back to his court, where the wickedness of his mother, and the ambition of Ptolemy, raised such disorders, as utterly subverted the peace and security of the kingdom, which Amyntas had long endeavoured to establish.

Ibid.

This

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This Ptolomy is called by * Diodorus the son of Amyntas. But, as † Justin doth not mention him, in recounting the offspring of this prince, as he is also called *ἐλλογιστὸς τοῦ γένους*, 'an alien from his race,' in another author; and as we find him, in Plutarch's life of Pelopidas, promise to keep the kingdom for the brothers of Alexander, without mentioning any affinity of his own, we must suspect some mistake, or at least some inaccuracy of expression, in the above-mentioned historian. It is suggested by a learned commentator on Diodorus, that he was the husband of Euryonè, for whom Eurydicè conceived her unlawful passion. By the secret practices of Eurydicè, or of Ptolomy, (for historians are not agreed in their relations) Alexander died, after a reign of one year. The conjecture of Palmerius may enable us to reconcile their differences, by making the death of this prince the effect of a conspiracy formed by the queen and her adulterer. And, that there really was some combination formed to destroy him, appears from Demosthenes, who, in his oration on the embassy, mentions Apollophanes, a citizen of Pydna, as one of the accomplices.

We find it asserted, in the fourteenth book of Athenæus, from an historian called Marfyas, that Alexander

SECT. I.

• l. 15. sect.

71.

† l. 7. c. 4.

Dexippos
in Syncell.
Chrono.
p. 24.

Jacob. Pal-
merius in
Diod. l. 15.
p. 49.

Justin, ut
supra.
Athen. l. 14.

De falsa
leg. sect. 58.

l. 14. p.
629.

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Eschin. de
fals. leg.
sect. 13.

Alexander fell, by the hand of Ptolomy, in a martial dance, in which the performers were armed: if so, the murderer did not reap the fruits of his cruelty and treachery. For Pausanias, a prince of the royal blood, but from another branch, took advantage of the present confusion, and returned to Macedon, from whence some former attempts to disturb the government had occasioned him to be banished. Here he found many friends and adherents. He possessed himself of Anthemus, Therma, and Strepsa, with some other towns, and assumed the royal title. The friends of Perdickas, the second son of Amyntas, who now became the lawful possessor, were gained over or intimidated; and the interests of the family of king Amyntas began to appear totally desperate, when, happily for the young princes, Iphicrates, the Athenian general, appeared in Macedon, upon an important commission from his state. Amphipolis, as hath been already observed, was, by the general voice of Greece, consigned to the Athenian jurisdiction. But the present inhabitants had so long tasted the pleasures of independence, (and possibly were influenced by the Spartans) that they refused to submit to the sentence of the Grecian convention, or to return to a state of subjection. The Athenians, on their
part,

part, determined to assert their right by force of arms. But first, they sent their general, whose character gave weight and dignity to his representations, with a few ships, to try the gentler methods of persuasion and remonstrance, as well as to inform himself of the present condition of the city, and the measures fit to be pursued, if an open rupture should prove necessary. Iphicrates had been some years before in Macedon, when charged with an expedition against some barbarous natives of Thrace: on which occasion Amyntas had expressed his respect to this illustrious Athenian and his state; and had entertained him at his court with due magnificence and politeness. A friendship and affection grew from this incident, which the people of that age would have deemed it the utmost baseness to forget. Eurydicè therefore now sought an interview with this general; he was entertained at her palace, and there surprised by an action, which could not fail to have the utmost influence on a humane and polished mind.

SECT. I.

Plut. in
Apoph.
Cor. Nep.
in Iphic.

THE queen, with her two sons, whose age, station, and misfortunes, rendered them objects of attention and respect, appeared suddenly before him in all the marks of grief and calamity. The elder she gave to his hand; Philip, the

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younger,

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younger, was placed on his knee. "Here," said Eurydice, "behold the tender pledges of that friendship which Amyntas always felt, always expressed, for Iphicrates. To you he was a father; you he considered as his child. Your city he loved and revered; and you the most respectable of that city. These helpless orphans are your brethren and your friends. To you they fly for protection and assistance. Pity their tender years, oppressed by cruel usurpation; pity their weeping mother, who thus begs redress of her own, and her children's injuries; relieve the dear remains of your ancient friend, and restore the peace that kingdom, which hath ever merited the kindest offices from Athens."

IPHICRATES, affected by this address, readily engaged to reinstate the son of Amyntas in the throne of Macedon. Pausanias was soon obliged to yield to his power and authority: Perdiccas was acknowledged sovereign: and, during his minority, the administration was entrusted to Ptolomy. This disposition could not at all contribute to abate the ambition of Ptolomy, who was by no means contented with the power and dignity of a regent. Fired with the hopes of ascending the throne, he began with forming his

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his alliances and connexions in Greece, so as to facilitate his secret designs. The Thebans were by this time become eminent and powerful. The implacable resentment of Agesilaus, who never could forgive the people that stopped the glorious progress of his arms in Asia, kindled up the flames of a war with Thebes, which proved fatal to his country. At Leuctra the Spartans lost one of their kings, the choice of their troops, and the reputation of their arms. The Thebans, conducted and encouraged by Epaminondas, pursued their advantage, and almost all Greece crowded to their standard; the Athenians excepted; who envied and dreaded their rising power; and, in order to preserve the balance, united with Lacedemon. The Thebans, therefore, Ptolemy determined to gain; and, to recommend himself to their alliance and protection, opposed the Athenians in their attempts to recover Amphipolis. Thus strengthened, as he imagined, by the alliance of a state now in the full splendour of its glory, this turbulent and ambitious prince began to avow his designs, and openly claimed a right to the sovereignty of Macedon. A considerable party was brought over to his interest, and the whole kingdom fell once more into confusion and disorder, by the contentions of the two competitors to support their different claims: when a particular event put

SECT. I.

Xen. Hist.

Græc. l. 6.

7.

Pf h. de

sal. lég.

sect. 14.

Plut. in

Pelop.

an end to this confusion, and greatly contributed to lay the foundation of that greatness, to which Philip, the younger prince, afterwards attained.

THE Thessalians had for some time groaned under the oppression of a family of usurpers. Jason, the Pheraean, who had at first seized the government, was a prince of merit, genius, and sagacity. His assistance had been of the utmost consequence to the Thebans in the war with Sparta; and both the contending parties he had endeavoured to manage in such a manner as to prevent either of them from growing too great, so as to obstruct those vast designs of power and grandeur which he had meditated for himself and Thessaly. His abilities reconciled the Thessalians to his usurpation, and might have had important consequences, had he not been suddenly cut off by a conspiracy. The respect due to his memory induced the Thessalians to acknowledge his two brothers, Polydorus and Polyphron, as their rightful sovereigns. The latter, impatient of a divided power, stabbed Polydorus; but soon after met with the like fate by the hand of Alexander, son, or, according to Diodorus *, the brother of the murdered prince. This action might have been considered as the effect of a just resentment; but the conduct of Alexander left

Xen. Hist.
Graec. l. 6.
p. 601.

* l. 15.
sect. 61.

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no room to extenuate his crimes. His ambition and cruelty were equally outrageous, and equally oppressive to the Theffalians, who soon found themselves obliged to implore the good offices of Thebes, to relieve them from so intolerable a tyrant. His outrages had even reached to the Thebans and Athenians; and all mankind seemed concerned to repress the cruelties of this detestable monster. The Thebans, therefore, sent Pelopidas, their illustrious citizen, into Theffaly to restore the tranquillity of that country. His reputation rendered him revered and dreaded; the principal cities opened their gates to him; and the tyrant fled before him. At first, he endeavoured, by the gentle methods of persuasion and address, to infuse such principles into the breast of Alexander, as might prove more friendly to mankind; but finding him incapable of reformation, and receiving repeated complaints of his cruelty and abandoned sensuality, he thought it necessary to threaten him with the severity of his power, which so intimidated the tyrant, that he retired privately with his guards, and left his countrymen freed from his oppression.

Xen. ut
supra.
Plut. in Pe-
lop.

To Pelopidas, who was still in Theffaly, and who seemed formed for restoring the peace of

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kingdoms, and redressing the injuries of the oppressed, the Macedonians now applied. Nor could the two contending brothers refuse to submit their cause to the determination of an umpire, no less distinguished for his equity, than for his other glorious accomplishments. On this occasion, his sentence seemed entirely consonant to the strictest rules of justice and moderation. Those, whom the violence of party had driven from their country, he caused to be restored, both on one and the other side. Perdiccas he declared sole king of Macedon, and obliged Ptolomy to relinquish his pretensions, and to profess a cordial reconciliation with his lawful prince. The king, whom he had now established on the throne, engaged to act, in all particulars, as a friend and ally to the Thebans; and, as a security for his performance of every thing required on his part, Philip [c] his brother, together with thirty youths of the first distinction in Macedon, were committed as hostages to the hands of Pe-

[c] The history of this prince's earlier years is embarrassed with many differences and inconsistencies in different historians. By weighing and comparing their several accounts, I have endeavoured to form a consistent narration, without entering into any particular discussion of the relations of those writers, who speak of his confinement in Illyria and Thebes; which might add to that tediousness which the reader may have already found in the introductory part of this history.

lopidas,

lopidas, and by him conveyed to Thebes. A transaction which, as Plutarch observes, reflected the highest honour on his country; displayed the authority which the reputation of the Theban arms had gained abroad, and the opinion which had been universally conceived of the justice and integrity of this state.

Step. II.
Plut. in.
Pelop.
Olymp. 102.
Y. 4.

To the instances he had already given of his humane and generous disposition, Pelopidas added that of a strict attention to the care and education of the young prince, whom the necessity of affairs had thus torn from his family and his country. He had now attained the age of fifteen years, the time of life which demanded the exactest culture and regulation, and when a mind, to which nature hath been bountiful, begins to be susceptible of solid instruction. And Pelopidas consulted most effectually for his improvement and direction, by placing Philip in the family of Polymnus, the father of Epaminondas, who had the happiness to be still living, a witness of the glory and greatness of his illustrious son. The same tutors, and the same course of study, by which Epaminondas had been formed, were provided for the Macedonian prince. He had now an opportunity of forming his mind by the Grecian manners, the standard of politeness, and

Plut. in
Pelop.
Diod. l. 16.
sect. 2.
Nep. in
Epam.

Book I.

the school of virtue. He had ever before his eyes a character, one of the most truly great and amiable which the Grecian story hath preserved, which he was instantly taught to revere, and to believe it his interest and glory to imitate. But it may be necessary to enter a little more particularly into the character of this renowned Theban, that we may have the clearer conception of those advantages which Philip happily derived from his present situation.

Nep. ut
supra.

EPAMINONDAS was born and educated in that honest poverty, which those less corrupted ages accounted the glorious mark of integrity and virtue. The instructions of a Pythagorean philosopher, to whom he was intrusted in his earliest years, formed him to all the temperance and severity peculiar to that sect, and were received with a docility and pleasure which bespoke an ingenuous mind. Music, dancing, and all those arts which were accounted honourable distinctions at Thebes, he received from the greatest masters. In the athletic exercises he became conspicuous, but soon learned to apply particularly to those which might prepare him for the labours and occasions of a military life. His modesty and gravity rendered him ready to hear and receive instruction; and his genius enabled him to learn and improve. A love of truth, a

love
1714

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love of virtue, tenderness, and humanity, and an exalted patriotism, he had learned, and soon displayed. To these glorious qualities he added penetration and sagacity, a happiness in improving every incident, a consummate skill in war, an unconquerable patience of toil and distress, a boldness in enterprize, vigour, and magnanimity. Thus did he become great and terrible in war; nor was he less distinguished by the gentler virtues of peace and retirement. He had a soul capable of the most exalted and disinterested friendship. The warmth of his benevolence supplied the deficiencies of his fortune: his credit and good offices frequently were employed to gain that relief for the necessities of others, which his own circumstances could not grant them: within the narrow sphere of these were his desires regularly confined; no temptations could corrupt him; no prospect of advantage could shake his integrity; to the public he appeared unalterably and solely devoted, nor could neglect or injuries abate his zeal for Thebes. All these illustrious qualities he adorned with that eloquence which was then in such repute, and appeared in council equally eminent, equally useful to his country, as in action. By him Thebes first rose to sovereign power, and with him she lost her greatness.

SUCH

BOOK II

Clemens
Alex. in
Paedag.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16. sect. 2.

he ~~Such~~ was the accomplished personage, in whose steps Philip was now taught to tread [H]. A Pythagorean philosopher was also given to him as an instructor, to form his mind by those precepts, whose effects were already so eminently displayed in Epaminondas. But these precepts do not seem to have been received by Philip with that due regard to their intrinsic worth, which the virtuous Theban had discovered. Yet, as reputable and honourable accomplishments, they sufficiently engaged his attention; and, under the direction of this tutor, he attained to a remarkable proficiency in the Pythagorean doctrine. The same polite and ornamental parts of education he had also the

[H] A SEVERE persecution, to which the disciples of Pythagoras had been exposed in Italy (of which we have a particular account in Justin, l. 20. Polybius, l. 2. Plutarch de Gen. Socrat. and other authors) obliged those few who could escape from the barbarity of their enemies, to take shelter in Greece, where they found protection and respect; and were employed in instructing youth in the severe rules and precepts of their philosophy. Hence Epaminondas found an useful and agreeable preceptor in Lysis; and hence Naufthous, another of that sect, was now at Thebes ready to undertake the important charge of the young Macedonian prince. The poverty of Polymanus may induce us to concur with the Abbè de la Tour, author of the Life of Epaminondas, in supposing, that a public pension was assigned, to defray the expence of Philip's education.

fairest

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SÆC. I.

Plut. in
Alex.

fairest opportunities of acquiring, and was early taught to admire all those arts in which Greece excelled. Eloquence was pointed out, as an accomplishment highly meriting his regard; and he continued, even in his most exalted fortune, to glory in the proficiency he was now labouring to gain. The conversation of Epaminondas enriched his mind with knowledge, and taught him the loveliness of virtue. High and exalted sentiments of glory were best fitted to his disposition; and all the arts and accomplishments which led to this, he studiously cultivated, and eagerly acquired. From the great Theban he learned activity and vigour in all military operations; address and sagacity in improving all opportunities, and turning every incident to his advantage; but as to the more material parts of this great man's excellencies, saith Plutarch, his justice, his magnanimity, and his clemency, of these Philip possessed no share by nature, nor did he acquire them by imitation. But, although the conduct of this prince may sometimes give a sanction to this severe sentence, yet may we reasonably consider the historian as speaking from the resentment of a man, whose country had suffered by this prince's power. To conceal his faults, and, by a strained defence, to convert his most exceptionable actions into so many instances of virtue or abilities, is to destroy that profitable

in Pelop.

able instruction which his history may afford to mankind. But it may be at least asserted, without any violation of historical truth, that Philip doth not always appear destitute of those virtues. He was sensible of the worth and amiableness, and never failed to assume the exterior appearance of them; and it may be more consonant to his character to say, that an inordinate ambition, the first great passion of his mind, checked and controuled all the humane and benevolent sentiments which he received from nature and education. Glory was his ultimate pursuit; and, to this, all his virtues were made subservient. Hence it is, that we shall find this prince, who, from many instances of his conduct, appears by no means insensible to the dictates of justice and clemency, yet sometimes acting injuriously and cruelly; forgetting, or neglecting, those noble instructions he had received, and that example of true greatness, which had been pointed out to his imitation.

THAT this young prince, whose genius now began to shine out, might want no advantages to complete his education, he was not confined to Thebes, but seems to have been attended by his preceptors into different parts of Greece, where the peace which this country enjoyed in the beginning of the reign of Perdiccas, admitted

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ted him to visit the several states, to study the tempers, manners, and dispositions of those people, who then engaged the general attention. The arts, the learning, and elegance of Athens, he seems to have particularly studied, relished, and admired. With the learned men of that city he formed connexions which continued during the whole course of his reign. He revered and admired Plato, as appears from that regard which he ever discovered to his followers: nor doth he seem to have been less regarded by the philosopher. He paid the due respect to the rising genius of Theophrastus; and that intimacy, to which he admitted Isocrates, we shall have frequent occasion of observing. But his intercourse with Athens doth not seem to have been entirely devoted to the adorning his mind, or improving his taste. The political state of that city, the passions, inclinations, and present corruptions of its inhabitants, were objects no less fitted to gain his attention. These he undoubtedly studied with the greatest diligence; for no man appears to have been more intimately acquainted with them. He well knew how to esteem their good qualities, to despise their faults, and to derive the due advantages from their prejudices and weakness.

SECT. I.

Ælian. l. 4.
c. 19.
Athen. l. 11.
Ælian.
ibid.

IN

Book I.
Plut. in
Alexan.

In these his excursions from Thebes, he visited Samothrace, and was there initiated into those grand mysteries of Ceres, which were celebrated at Athens, at Eleusis, and in other parts of Greece. Here he first saw Olympias, the second daughter of the king of Epirus, who was also initiated into the mysteries, and was now called Myrtalis, a name which the remembrance of their first affection seems to have preserved, and occasioned it to be frequently repeated. The affinity of their houses naturally engaged Philip's attention to this princess. For Lanusia, the grand-daughter of Hercules, had been espoused by Peleus, the grandson of Achilles, from whom the kings of Epirus were descended. And her extraordinary beauty, joined to the natural graces of her tender years, made an impression on the young prince, which never was effaced, but by their conjugal disagreements.

Pausan in
Corinth.
Juliani Caes.

Olivier, l. 1.
p. 39.
Rollin.

It is also probable, that Phillip was permitted to attend Epaminondas in some of these expeditions which have so highly exalted the military character of that great Theban. Men of distinguished note in Greece thought themselves honoured by following the standard of a general, whose arms pierced into the very bosom of

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Sparta, and who, more than once, made his enemies tremble for the safety of their very city.

SECT. I.

WHILE Philip was thus labouring to acquire all those accomplishments which might render him great and eminent, the kingdom of Macedon became again distracted by the ambition of Ptolomy, who was again encouraged to renew his pretensions to the sovereign power; again began to oppress the family of Amyntas; and obliged them once more to apply to Pelopidas, their protector. His honour and his disposition both engaged him to support his own settlement, and to assert the interests of his friends: but, as the Theban forces were otherwise engaged, he was obliged to collect some mercenary troops; and, at their head, marched against the usurper. As they approached, Ptolomy contrived to corrupt those mercenaries, to engage them to revolt from their general, and to join his own army: yet the very name of this illustrious Theban struck him with more terror than the appearance of an armed force. Single, and deserted, as he was, the Macedonian humbled himself before him, acknowledged his fault, and implored pardon, as from a superior: solemnly promising, for the future, to confine himself to the duties of a regent; to pay due allegiance to the

Plut. in
Pelop.

Book I.

the lawful heir of the throne, and to behave, in every particular, as a faithful friend and ally to the Theban state; and, as a security for his conduct, he gave his own son Philoxenus, with fifty other young Macedonians, as hostages; who were all sent to Thebes.

Plut. in
Pelop.

THIS expedition, so honourable to Pelopidas, in the end proved fatal to him. His desire of revenging the treachery of his mercenaries, was the occasion of his falling into the hands of Alexander, the tyrant of Thessaly; (from whence he was delivered by his friend Epaminondas;) and his resentment of the tyrant's cruelty afterwards induced him to lead an army into Thessaly, where his fury and impatience to attack Alexander in person, hurried him into the midst of his enemies; and this renowned Theban fell beneath their numbers.

Diod. l. 16.
sect. 2.

PROBABLY the death of Pelopidas encouraged Ptolomy once more to assert his pretensions; and to raise new disorders in Macedon. At least, we find that Perdiccas still suspected his enterprizing temper; and, to secure the quiet possession of a throne, which he had hitherto enjoyed but in name, recurred to the expedient usually practised in this unsettled kingdom, and quieted his apprehensions by murdering his turbulent

bulent guardian. Thus was this prince established in an undisturbed possession of the sovereign power: and, from this event, we find historians date the beginning of his reign.

SECT. I.

Olymp. 103.
Y. 4.

PERDICCAS was a prince who did not want talents, but wanted the art of regulating and applying them; he had more boldness than firmness, more cunning than prudence, and more genius than judgment. He valued himself upon his learning, and was passionately fond of learned men, without informing himself whether their characters answered to the knowledge they had acquired. Not contented with supporting them with his bounty, and encouraging them by his favour, he admitted them indiscriminately into his strictest confidence; and even suffered himself to be absolutely governed by one Eupratus, a philosopher unworthy of the school of Plato, where he had been instructed; who possessed the prince with an high opinion of his own proficiency in science, with an affectation of refinement and speculation; collected all those about him, who might flatter this disposition, and made him prefer pedants to his generals.

Oliv. c. 1.
p. 42.

Athen l. 11.
p. 508.

His connexions with Thebes naturally led him to oppose the Athenian interest. Amphi-

Book I.

Platini de
fal. Leg.
sect. 14.

polis, the perpetual subject of dispute, was still claimed by that people: but Perdiccas peremptorily refused to acknowledge the justice of their pretensions, and prepared to defend the possession of this important city, which he now assumed, by the force of arms. The Athenians, on their part, determined to assert their right, and, for this purpose, sent out a considerable armament, under the command of a general named Callisthenes. Perdiccas found himself unable to oppose this force, which had defeated him; and was on the point of regaining the city, when he was obliged to call in artifice to his assistance, and (possibly by tampering with Callisthenes) obtained an advantageous truce. The Athenians were justly dissatisfied with the conduct of their general, who now returned with disgrace, and some time after fell under the resentment of his countrymen. He was put to death, but without any public declaration, that the truce which he had concluded with Perdiccas, was the real cause of his sentence. The people rather affected a regard to public faith, to adhere inviolably to the act of the man whom they had regularly commissioned, and even to approve of this truce, as a means of bringing the king of Macedon to a just sense of the equity of their cause. Nor had they sufficient

Xen. Hist.
Graec. l. 7.

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cient opportunity to assert their claim effectually, being now engaged in assisting the Lacodemonians. The united force of these states were conquered by Epaminondas at Mantinea, but unhappily the Thebans lost their glorious general, and, with him, all the fruits of their victory, and all their short-lived power and grandeur.

SæT. I.

Olymp. 104.
Y. 2.

THE effect which this important loss must necessarily have on Thebes, was soon perceived by the powers bordering on Macedon, which had hitherto been awed by that state, and prevented from attacking its ally. But now the declension of the Theban grandeur, evidently foreseen, appears to have encouraged the old enemies of the Macedonians to disturb their peace: The Illyrians had still at their head the same brave and experienced prince, Bardyllis, whose age doth not seem to have abated his vigour, and whose arms had already proved so formidable. He now sent to Perdiccas to demand the payment of that tribute which he had exacted from some former kings; and, on his refusal, advanced at the head of a powerful army to support his claim; which quickly roused the Macedonians, who marched out to oppose the invaders. The valour of each army was equal: but the Illyrians were better disciplined,

Diod. l. 16.
sect. 2.

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and better conducted; and found but little difficulty in gaining a complete victory. The poor remains of the Macedonian army, of which more than four thousand, by far the greatest part of its force, had been cut to pieces, was obliged to lay down their arms, and submit to the conqueror. Their king, who had not been deficient in acts of valour, fell a prisoner into the hands of his enemies, and there died of the wounds he had received in battle. His son Amyntas, who now became his successor, was yet in his infancy, unable to assume the government, much more to retrieve the disordered and dangerous state of his kingdom. Thus was Macedon left exposed to all the consequences of civil dissension, at the same time that it was driven to the brink of ruin by the most fatal calamities of a foreign war.

BOOK I. SECTION II.

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Olynthians to his interest.—He besieges Amphipolis.—Amuses the Athenians.—The Amphipolitans sue to this people for succours—but in vain.—Philip takes Amphipolis.—Finds it necessary to cement his union with the Olynthians.—He gives them Pydna.—The account of Libanius considered relative to Philip's conduct towards the Pydnians.—Potidaea besieged by Philip.—His treatment of the Athenian garrison.—The city given up to the Olynthians.—Philip's expedition into Thrace.—Character of Cotys.—Establishment of the city of Philippi.—Golden mines near Crenidae.—The advantages which Philip derived from this fund of wealth.—War between Cotys and the Athenians.—Death of Cotys.—Disorders occasioned by the ambition of Cersobleptes.—Philip's attention to the commotions in Thrace.

BOOK THE FIRST.

SECTION II.

DIODORUS* asserts, that Philip was still detained at Thebes, and there re-
sided; when the news of the total defeat of the
Macedonians, and the death of their king,
spread through the neighbouring nations, and
reached this young prince. Education, exam-
ple, his youth, and natural ardour, all conspir-
ed to render him impatient for some great occa-
sion of exerting his abilities; and this event
seemed, as it were, the signal for his starting
forward in the race of honour and glory. Ac-
cording to that historian, he now eluded the
vigilance of the guards, to whom the care of his
person was entrusted; and fled privately away
to Macedon; resolved to assist his family and
country in their distress; elevated with expec-
tations of renown; and perhaps not without
hopes of the throne, to which he afterwards
was raised.

BOOK I.
SECT. II.
Olymp. 105.
Y. 1.
* l. 16.
sect. 2.

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* 1. 7. c. 5.

† L. 31.
p. 56.

BUT, according to this account, Philip must have resided for a much longer term at Thebes than three years, which Justin * makes the time of his confinement in that city. And this seems to favour a relation, which Athenaeus † hath preserved, but which he speaks of as obscure and uncertain. It is said, that Plato conceived such expectations of this prince, that he recommended him to the late king Perdiccas as a person entirely qualified for a public trust; and that, in consequence of the philosopher's advice, Perdiccas placed him at the head of one of the Macedonian provinces, that he might there raise, train, and discipline, a body of forces, by way of a reserve, on any sudden emergency. If we may credit this relation, Philip must have been in his government at the time of his brother's defeat; and now appeared opportunely in defence of his country, not single or unprepared, but at the head of a considerable reinforcement.

Oliv. 1. 2.
p. 47.Diod. Sic.
1. 16. sect. 2.

CIRCUMSTANCED as Macedon was at this time, a prince whose only virtue was courage, must necessarily have completed its ruin, and one who possessed less of this than Philip could not have attempted to re-establish it. The choice of all its forces had been cut to pieces,
or

or made prisoners, in the late engagement; the remains were totally intimidated; their wounds still bleeding, and the terrour of the enemy still strongly impressed upon their minds. The victorious army, which Bardyllis had augmented by new levies, was every moment expected to pour down upon them; and nothing was spoken of, but the necessity of an absolute submission. The Paeonians, a powerful and warlike people, accounted, in earlier times, less barbarous and more considerable than the Macedonians, had received some cause of offence from Perdiccas; and were now indulging their revenge, ravaging and insulting the kingdom without the least interruption or controul. Ancient pretensions to the sovereignty were at the same time renewed; and foreign enemies invited to share the spoils of this unhappy kingdom, under the pretence of supporting the claims of different competitors. Pausanias, whom Iphicrates had dispossessed, openly asserted his right to the crown. The Thracians he had engaged to support his title; and was now ready to invade the kingdom, at the head of a formidable army, which the king of that country had been prevailed upon to raise for his assistance. Argæus, the old competitor of king Amyntas, looked on the victory of his friends, the Illyrians, as an event highly favourable to his pretensions; which he also now avowed

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avowed and asserted. His known connexions with the victorious enemy, must have considerably increased his party in Macedon: but his dependence was not entirely on this party, nor on the Illyrians. The people of Athens had conceived an high resentment against Perdiccas, who had presumed to dispute their right to Amphipolis; and opposed their attempts to regain this city. They were by no means favourably disposed to Philip, the friend of Thebes, and pupil of their enemy Epaminondas. They justly suspected that this prince, if once established in the peaceable administration of affairs, would not be inclined to make them any concession which Perdiccas had denied. Argæus, on his part, who was grown old in intrigue, knew how to make the most flattering promises, when he stood in need of assistance: and so effectually convinced the Athenians, that their interest was closely connected with his restoration to that throne, on which he had for some time sat, that they resolved to exert themselves in defence of his title; and, for this purpose, sent out Mantias, one of their commanders, with a powerful fleet, and three thousand men.

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

Ibid.

Two pretenders to the crown, and four formidable enemies, now actually in arms, and ready

ready to surround him, were not capable of deterring Philip from assuming the reins of government, under the title of regent and protector to his infant nephew. His eloquence was now first exerted to rouse the Macedonians from their despair; to recall to their minds the courage, and the ancient honours of their fathers; to inspire them with hopes of better fortune; and to engage them in a faithful allegiance to the reigning family. All the motives that could possibly dissipate their terror, and conciliate their affections, were pathetically and effectually urged by this prince: his own undaunted deportment gave weight to his arguments; and the appearance of his extraordinary merit made them consider fidelity and strict adherence to him, not only as their duty, but their true interest. He possessed all those qualifications, in an eminent degree, which render a prince amiable in the general eye. His person was remarkably graceful, and commanded affection and respect: his address and deportment were obliging and insinuating: his consummate penetration had not the least appearance of reserve: he had affability the most pleasing and flattering; natural and unstudied; without that timidity and hesitating condescension, that awkward and ridiculous mixture of caution and affected openness, which the great may sometimes

SECT. II.

Just. l. 7.

c. 5.

Diod. l. 16.
sect. 3.

Æschin. de
falsa Leg.
Plut. in A-
popth. Athe-
næ & al.

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times betray, who know the use of affability, and vainly hope to appear what nature forbids them to attempt. He had a temper gay and unclouded; a wit indulged with apparent ease, but ever well corrected. Such accomplishments are oftentimes found to be the veil of deep designs and turbulent passions; but are frequently known to raise such prejudices in favour of the possessor, as caution and reflection cannot conquer. The bare appearance, therefore, of such a prince, in a time of public danger, must have had a considerable effect: and the first experience of his abilities, in the beginning of his regency, strengthened the expectations of the people, and confirmed their attachment to him. But the dignity of regent was by no means suited to the greatness of his ambition, now inflamed by the popular favour, and general good opinion, which his merit had acquired. The oracle was industriously published, which promised that Macedon should arrive to the highest grandeur, under the reign of a son of Amyntas: and it was received with all possible deference. "This is the man," they cried, "whom we are to regard as the destined deliverer of his country. Let us reflect upon the dangers now impending over us, and can we hope for any security but from a king like him, or that an infant reign can be at all consistent with the present state

Justin, l. 7.
c. 6.

“state of Macedon? Can it be expected, that
 “a young prince, fired with a generous love of
 “glory and power, will exert all his abilities in
 “defence of the glory and power of another?
 “No: let us make our cause his own: let us
 “offer him a prize worthy to be contended for;
 “and let us place that prince upon the throne
 “of Macedon, whom the God himself points
 “out to us, and commands to be received as
 “our deliverer.” Such sentiments were, no
 doubt, propagated with all diligence by the
 friends and partisans of Philip, and were heard
 with all attention. And, as the circumstances
 and inclinations of the Macedonians favoured
 the schemes of his ambition, the infant Amyntas
 was set aside, without difficulty, in a kingdom
 which had frequently been used to see the
 lineal succession interrupted; and Philip himself
 was now invested with the royal title and authority.

Sicr. II.

Thus was he happily and easily put in possession of the first darling object of his aspiring hopes. And, having ascended the throne of Macedon, he instantly began to exert himself with due policy and vigour, for the defence of his own power, and the welfare of his new subjects. His attention was, in the first place, turned to the army which had suffered so severely
 in

Diod Sic.
 ut supra.

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in the late engagement: and his first care was to restore its strength and vigour; and to establish and improve its discipline.

THE art of war had not, as yet, been duly understood in Macedon, though, from the earliest ages, the soldiers of this kingdom had been remarkable for natural valour: and, in a disordered state, where many competitors frequently contended for the supreme power, and the government was weak and precarious, it is easy to conceive that princes might have been tempted to connive at many relaxations in military discipline, in order to preserve the affections of their soldiers by this false indulgence. But Philip's views were much juster, and more extensive. The observations he had made, and the instructions he had received in Greece, formed him completely in the military art; and taught him to regard an exact regulation of his army, as the sure foundation of all his future hopes.

Diod. Sic. l.
16. sect. 3.

He therefore applied to this work with an attention suited to its importance. He began with providing a sufficient quantity of arms for his soldiers; and, in the form and management of these, made such alterations as his experience and observation had suggested. His forces were constantly exercised, reviewed, engaged in mock battles; trained and inured to form, to move,

to

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to march, with ease and regularity. Every thing that tended to luxury and indulgence was strictly prohibited. Their wives were never suffered to attend his officers; though [A] he himself was yet not careful to enforce this strict regard to the discipline of his camp by his own example. His exact care, in banishing luxury and effeminacy, continued during the whole course of his reign. We learn from Polyænus *, that one officer was dismissed from his service, for using warm baths; and two others for entertaining a singing girl. The men of most distinction in his army were not permitted to make use of any carriages in their march, either for themselves, or for their baggage; which was allowed to be no more than their servants could carry; nor were the number of these permitted to be any greater than strict necessity required.

Strab. II.

Athenae.
I. 13. p. 557.

* I. 4. c. 3.

Front. Strat.
I. 4. c. 1.

AMONG the instances of his attention to the modelling and regulating his army, and training up his soldiers to the military art, we may reckon one which Arrian * and Ælian † both ascribe to Philip; and that is the institution of the ΔΟΡΥΦΟΡΟΙ, or spear-men, as they were called. These were carefully chosen from all the noble families in Macedon; educated and instructed,

* Arrian,
I. 4. p. 268.

† Ælian,
I. 14. c. 49.

[A] Ο δὲ Φίλιππος αὖ κατὰ πόλεμον ἔγχευε. Athen. in loco cit.

in

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in all liberal accomplishments, at the royal court, from their earliest years, and employed in all offices about the king's person. They guarded his chamber-door by turns; they attended him in hunting and in battle; they had peculiar honours and privileges, and particularly were admitted to dine at the king's table. Thus he contrived to keep, as it were, a number of hostages, to secure the allegiance of all the nobles in Macedon: and these youths, early taught to love and respect the person of their prince, constantly under his inspection, and, of consequence, fired with emulation to render themselves worthy of his regard, served as a glorious seminary (so Curtius * calls them) of future generals and officers; on whose abilities and zeal the king might have the firmest reliance. And, for this purpose, it was particularly necessary that they should be enured to an exemplary observance of his regulations. Not all the favour which he shewed them, not all the affability and condescension with which he entertained them, as his equals and companions, was suffered to encourage them to the least relaxation of his rigorous discipline. One of them, who had left his company on a march, to allay his thirst in a tavern, was severely chastised. Another, who, when he should have remained under arms, was tempted to lay them down, for the greater convenience of

*Ælian, ut
supra.*

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of plundering, was put to death without mercy; SECT. II.
and without the least regard to his intimacy
with the king, which had encouraged him to
commit this offence.

AND now it was, that Philip formed the famous Macedonian PHALANX, which afterwards performed such effectual services on many occasions; which so greatly contributed to his son's conquests in Asia, and which appeared so formidable to the Romans, at a time when its figure and its arms alone remained, without the spirit by which it was originally animated. Homer was the source from whence the Grecians drew all their knowledge: and, from the following passage of his immortal poem, Philip is said to have conceived the first idea of this renowned body:

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

Ἀσπίς ἀρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε, κορυς κορυν, ἀνερα δ' ἀνερ.
Ψαυον δ' ἵπποκομοὶ κορυθεὶς λαμπροῖσι Φαλαῖσι.
Νευντων' ὡς πυκνοὶ ἐφ' ἑσάσαν ἀλλήλοισι. Iliad. N. 131.

An iron scene gleams dreadful o'er the fields;
Armour in armour lock'd, and shields in shields.
Spears lean on spears, on targets targets throng:
Helm stuck to helm, and man drove man along.

POPE.

BOOK I.

See note on
the life of
Philip in
the Univ.
Hist.

Polyb. l. 17.

Ælian Ta 3.
c. 28.

Thus Diodorus relates: but it hath been suggested, and not without reason, that Philip was by no means the original inventor of the Phalanx, but only new modelled and disciplined a body, with which the Macedonians, as well as all the Grecians, were already well acquainted. In the time of Philip, this Phalanx was composed of a body of infantry of about six thousand men, which usually formed his main battle. Their arms were a short cutting sword, a large square buckler, four feet in length, and two and an half broad; and a pike fourteen cubits long, called by the Grecians ΕΑΠΙΞΕΑ. This body was usually drawn up sixteen in depth: the files were sometimes doubled, sometimes divided, as the different exigencies required: and, in the manner of their evolutions and counter-marchings, on such occasions, Philip introduced an alteration which he deemed of consequence, as it tended to encourage his own soldiers, and to intimidate the enemy. The original manner of this counter-march, which the Macedonians invented, was so contrived, as to have the appearance of a retreat; the new method, which was adopted from the Lacedemonians, had an opposite effect, and shewed like a bold and undaunted onset.

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THE space between each Phalangite, on their march, (as Polybius * hath described this body in the time of the Romans) was four cubits; and the distance between the ranks the same: as they advanced towards the enemy, the men closed to half these distances; and, when they were to receive the enemy, they locked still closer, so that the distances were but one cubit. Their pikes, as hath been observed, were fourteen cubits long. The space between the hands, and that part of the pike which projected beyond the right, took up four, and, consequently, each pike was advanced ten cubits beyond the body of the soldier. So far did they advance towards the enemy, from the soldiers of the first rank; while those also, of all the four succeeding ranks, projected beyond the front to their several proportional distances. The soldiers of all the other ranks behind the fifth held their pikes, (which could not reach the enemy) raised and reclining a little over those before them, so as to form a kind of roof to secure them from all missive weapons. But this was not the only use of those soldiers, whose pikes could not reach the enemy. They were most effectually employed in bearing up against those who preceded them, and supporting them with all their strength. So that the charge was ever made with the whole united force and impetuosity of

SECT. II.

* l. 17. p.

764—767.

l. 12. 664.

Book I.

all this mighty body; immoveable and impregnable by its union; and without the least possibility of a retreat for those soldiers who were on every side closely locked in, and pushed forward by their comrades.

* ut supra.

THE difficulty of sustaining the weight of this body, appears evidently from its description; the difficulty of opening or breaking it Polybius * thus demonstrates, by comparing it with the disposition of the Roman army. Each Roman soldier, saith this historian, takes up in fight two cubits: the same distance must be allowed for shifting their shields, and wielding their arms. The whole, then, is twice the distance of the Phalangites, when they move to attack the enemy. Every Roman, therefore, opposes two of these, and is obliged to make head against ten different pikes. And, when the Phalanx waits to receive the enemy, the numbers and difficulties are doubled. The efforts of the assailants might indeed sometimes break one or more in this vast forest of pikes. But then, (as Livy * hath observed in one particular instance) the pike, so broken, still continued to fill up the tremendous range, without any vacancy or interval: nor was its broken point incapable of doing execution.

* l. 32. sect.
17.

A L A T E

A LATE author * of a discourse on the Roman art of war is of opinion, that the principal defect of the Phalanx lay in its disadvantageous armour, and order of battle. " In reality, saith " he, the pikes of the two first ranks only were " serviceable in an engagement; those of the " rest scarcely availed any thing. The men of " the third rank could not see what passed in " the front, nor had any command of their long " pikes, which were entangled and locked up " between the files, without a possibility of mov- " ing them to the right or left: hence the Ro- " mans found no great difficulty in surmounting " an obstacle, formidable indeed in appearance, " but at bottom very trifling. They had only to " gain upon the pikes of the two first ranks, " that they might join the enemy, and fight " hand to hand. This they were enabled to " do by their large bucklers, with which they " bore up the pikes of the Macedonians, and, " forcing their way under, reached them with " their swords. All resistance was then at an " end: the Phalanx, unprovided for defence, " and rather embarrassed than aided by their " pikes, could no longer stand the furious charge " of the Romans, who made dreadful havock " with their pointed swords. We find at the " battle of Pydna, where Paulus Æmilius gained " so complete a victory over Perseus, that no

SECT. II.

* Duncan's
Translat. of
Cæsar's
Comment.

Book I.

"less than twenty thousand Macedonians were
 "slain, with the loss of only one hundred men
 "on the side of the Romans." This, our au-
 thor adds, it is impossible to ascribe to any other
 cause, than to the insufficiency of the pike,
 when opposed to an infantry armed with swords
 and bucklers.

It becomes the writer of this history to speak
 with the utmost caution on such a subject: par-
 ticularly as Folard *, from whom these observa-
 tions are almost exactly copied, has pronounced
 positively on the inconvenience of the Macedo-
 nian pikes. But it is obvious to remark, that
 the battle, here brought as an example to esta-
 blish this theory, doth not afford a single cir-
 cumstance in favour of it; but, on the contrary,
 doth remarkably confirm that of Polybius. In
 the first place, we find the consul Æmilius using
 all possible artifice to bring Perseus from his
 ground, which he had chosen particularly for the
 sake of his Phalanx: and to which he obsti-
 nately adhered, till accident, or rather the po-
 licy of the Roman, obliged him to advance.
 The sight of the Phalanx, though descending
 into a less advantageous place, struck Æmilius
 with horror and amazement. It was attacked
 with all imaginable gallantry in front, but bore
 down all before it with such irresistible impetu-
 osity,

* Traité de
 Colonne.
 Polybe.
 tom. I.

Livy, l. 44.
 cap. 40 cum
 Sup. Freinf.

osity, that *Æmilius* rent his garments in an agony of grief and indignation. When the inequality of the ground, the immense front of this body, and the confusion of the battle, began to destroy the firm and solid form of the Phalanx; then it was, that this able Roman conceived hopes of success: then it was, that he ordered his legions to attack it in the intervals and vacancies now laid open. [B] And to this disposition *Livy* *, in express terms, ascribes the victory. Had the whole Roman army, saith he, continued to make its impression on the front, it must have run directly on the Macedonian pikes; nor could it have sustained the weight of this close and firmly compacted body.

Sect. II.

* cap. 47.

[a] *Naque ulla evidentior causa victoriae fuit, quam quod multa passim praelia erant: quae fluctuantem turbarent primo, deinde disjecerunt Phalangem: cujus confertae, & intentis horrentis hastis intolerabiles vires sunt. Si carptim aggrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine et gravitate hastam cogas, confusa sive implicantur: si vero ab latere aut ab tergo aliquid tumultus increpuit, ruinae modo turbantur. Sicut tum adversus catervatim incurrentes Romanos, et interruptâ multifariam acie obviam ire cogebantur; & Romani, quaecunque data intervalla essent insinuant ordines suos. Qui si universâ acie in frontem adversus instructam Phalangem concurrissent, quod Pelignis principio pugnae incaute congressus adversus cetratos evenit, induissent se hastis nec confertam aciem sustinissent. Liv. in loco cit.*

Book I.

Oliv. l. 2.
p. 64.Polyb. ut
supra.

THE Phalanx, therefore, appears to have been irresistible in almost every case, but where the inequality, or accidental obstructions in the ground, or the unwieldiness, occasioned by its numbers, made it break or fluctuate. This was the chief inconvenience attending on the Phalanx, which is said to have been greatly increased by the later kings of Macedon, who were enabled to augment this body to sixteen thousand men. Though their division of the Phalanx, thus augmented into ten distinct battalions, seems to have been purposely intended to obviate this inconvenience. And, if once broken, either by the nature of the ground, or the artifice of the enemy in retiring, and tempting the Phalangites to a disorderly pursuit, or by any other cause, the mischief became totally irreparable, as it was absolutely impossible for them ever to rally and resume their form.

Liv. l. 33.
p. 40.

ANOTHER defect of this body seems to have been, that its rear was left entirely exposed and defenceless. Men armed with long pikes, and exceeding closely drawn up, could, by no means, if attacked behind, face about readily, and present their arms that way. Accordingly, we find, that in the battle of Cynocephalae, where the Roman consul Flaminius conquered Philip, the

the latter king of Macedon, a legionary tribune, with a few manipuli, undertook to break through a formidable body of the Macedonian Phalanx, which continued, after the dispersion of their comrades, to fight firmly on the right wing; and, by attacking them in the rear, easily effected his design, cut the hindmost to pieces, and obliged the rest to fly.

SICR. II.

THE Phalanx, thus formed, Philip justly considered as his best and most effectual resource: and the soldiers, of which it was composed, he treated with every mark of distinction and regard. That affability and affection, which he shewed to all his soldiers; and which he well knew how to express, without descending from his true dignity, were doubled to them. He gave them the honourable title of ΠΕΖΕΤΑΙΡΟΙ, his fellow soldiers, a name invented to animate and encourage them, and to soften the utmost severity of their toils. Such familiarities, saith the French translator of Demosthenes, are easily practised, and cost a prince but little, yet frequently prove of the utmost consequence.

Demost.
Olyn. 1.
sect. 3.
Tourneil
Not. in
Olyn. 1.

BUT his different enemies were now pouring down upon him, and made it necessary to exert all his efforts and abilities to avert the danger. In his present difficulties he deemed it by no means

Book I.

Diod. Sic.

l. 16. sect. 3.

Athenae l.
4. p. 155.

means inconsistent with his honour, to treat, to promise, and to oblige. He began with sending a deputation to the Paconians; and, partly by bribing some of their chiefs, partly by fair and artful promises, (the methods with which he first began, and always continued to conduct his designs) he prevailed on that people to grant him a peace, and to leave his territories unmolested. From this experience of the effectual power of gold, he was induced to try the same artifice against the people of Thrace, who had espoused the interests of his rival Pausanias. The wealth of the kingdom had been entirely exhausted by the public disorders, and gold was now so exceedingly scarce in Macedon, that Philip is said to have regarded an only cup of that metal, as a possession of such consequence, that, for the greater security, it was always placed on his pillow. Yet, on this pressing occasion, he used all his powers to raise a sum considerable enough for his design; and by a magnificent present to the king of Thrace [c], engaged him to

[c] We learn from Thucydides, that, among the ordinary revenues of the kings of Thrace, those presents were accounted, which their richer subjects, neighbouring princes, &c. usually made to him, as well as to his nobles: and, that Philip, on this occasion, gratified his pride, as well as his love of gold; for that, in Thrace, it was esteemed more honourable to receive than to give; contrary to the custom of Persia. Thucyd. l. 2. sect. 97.

abandon

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abandon Pausanias and his cause. Thus was he extricated from some of his immediate difficulties, and particularly, from the molestation of one formidable competitor.

Sicr. II.

BUT Argæus and the Athenians gave him still greater uneasiness: his interests demanded the ruin of the one; the others were to be managed with the utmost address and policy. Although their dispositions were by no means favourable to him, he was sensible that their great motive for espousing the cause of Argæus, was the hopes of becoming masters of Amphipolis, a cession which that prince could make no difficulty of promising, if, by their interposition, he might be advanced to the throne. By the same concession, Philip might have at once gained their friendship: but he clearly saw the danger of investing those, whom he considered as his enemies, with a place of such importance to the peace and security of his kingdom. He therefore could not think of suffering the Athenians to possess it: on the other hand, he was to act with due caution and delicacy, so as, if possible, to give no umbrage to this people; and this could by no means be effected, if he still continued to keep possession of it himself. He therefore determined upon a measure, dictated by the extent of his genius and policy. He withdrew

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

BOOK I.

Polyacan.
Stra. l. 4.
c. 17.

drew the Macedonian forces from Amphipolis; and affected to renounce all claim to that city, by a formal declaration, acknowledging the right of its inhabitants to absolute liberty and independence, as a Grecian settlement, intitled, by the express words and tenour of treaties lately concluded, to the enjoyment of their own laws and privileges, free from the controul of any foreign jurisdiction. By this means, whatever opposition should be made to the pretensions of Athens, was to appear as the act of the inhabitants themselves. And this declaration of Philip had the appearance of such disinterested generosity, that the people of Amphipolis, in the first emotions of gratitude, decreed divine honours to him, as their guardian genius; expressed the warmest zeal for his support against all attempts to disturb his government at home; while, at the same time, they defended his frontier against all foreign attacks, that might be made on that side.

Aristid.
Orat. de
Societ. tom.
1, p. 480.
Ed. Jebb.

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

MANTIAS, the Athenian admiral, was now at anchor before Methonè, the city so called on the Thermaïc bay, forty stadia distant from Pydna; and from thence detached a body of troops to reinforce the Macedonians, who had taken up arms for Argæus. This prince now appeared

appeared at the head of his united army, and presented himself before the city of *Ægae*. He addressed himself to the inhabitants in the manner usual in such disputes; inveighed against the injustice of the present government; supported his own title by every argument which his cause could supply; and urged every motive of honour and interest, which might induce them to acknowledge him as their sovereign, and to fight under his standard. But these people had too just notions of the merit and abilities of Philip, and of the weakness and insufficiency of his rival, to suffer their allegiance to be shaken. They, with one consent, determined to adhere firmly to the interests of the present reign, and shut their gates against *Argæus*. Dispirited by this disgrace, he directed his march back towards *Methonè*; when Philip, who was now prepared to attack him, fell furiously on his rear, and cut it to pieces. The rest of his army gained a neighbouring eminence, where they were quickly surrounded, and obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

Ster. II.

In this battle *Argæus* fell, and thus freed Philip from all the dangers and commotions which might arise from his pretensions. His Macedonians, Philip disposed among his own troops, and freely admitted them to renew their oaths

*Demost. in
Aristoc.*

Book I.

oaths to him, with a confidence well calculated to attach them to his interest. All the Athenian prisoners he treated with the utmost distinction and respect. He commanded that their baggage should be instantly restored to them; he expressed the greatest veneration for their state; and the most cordial affection, and tender concern, for its citizens; and thus sent them home, deeply affected with the politeness, and humane dispositions, of the young king of Macedon.

Demost. in
Aristoc.

THE Athenian prisoners had scarcely arrived at their city, when ambassadors from Philip appeared in the assembly; where the late conduct of their master gained them the utmost favour and attention. In his name they proposed a peace; and a renewal of that alliance, which had formerly subsisted between Athens and king Amyntas. On his part, the fairest professions were made of regard and amity: and, as to Amphipolis, his deputies were instructed to speak of it as a city to which Philip had no claim, and which was no longer dependent on the crown of Macedon, either to hold, or grant to others. His overtures were received with all attention by a people, who, although they derived considerable advantages from their conquests and colonies in Thrace and Macedon, yet were greatly

Polyaen.
L. 4. c. 17.

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SECT. II.

greatly discouraged by the vast expence of sending out and maintaining their fleets, in order to support these acquisitions; and were therefore, at present, well inclined to make a peace with Philip, on such honourable terms as he now offered. These, as they consisted entirely in words and promises, he made no difficulty of proposing. And they, on their part, did not, as yet, think so highly of Philip's power, and were not so well acquainted with his policy, as to imagine that he could not presume to violate any treaty which they might conclude with him. They therefore contented themselves with seeing Amphipolis independent on Macedon; persuaded that they might, at some time, recover it by force of arms. Not the least mention was now made of it; but the treaty, without any objection, or difficulty, accepted, concluded, and ratified, entirely to the satisfaction of Philip; who, in the depths of his artifice and policy, considered it only as a temporary expedient: fully determined, that no engagements, of this nature, should raise any obstructions to his future designs.

THESE actions engaged the first year of Philip's reign; and, having thus far provided for the security of his power and kingdom, he received

Book I.

Diod. Sic.

l. 16. sect.

4.

received an account of the death of Agis, king of the Paeonians. A similar event had encouraged the Paeonians to distress and harass the kingdom of Macedon; and now Philip, instructed by their invasion, determined to embrace the same occasion of oppressing them. He entered their territories with the choice of all his forces, encouraged and invigorated by their late successes. The enemy who marched out to meet him, were utterly defeated, and the whole nation obliged to submit implicitly to the conqueror, and to acknowledge an absolute dependence on Macedon.

Ibid.

PHILIP had now one enemy alone remaining, but this by far the most formidable; Bardyllis, king of the Illyrians. The victories which this prince had gained over the brothers and the father of Philip; the shameful tribute which they had paid him, and which he still demanded; the acquisitions which he had already gained in Macedon, and the danger with which his increasing power still threatened the kingdom; all engaged this prince to revenge the injuries done to his family, to assert the honour of his subjects, and to provide for his own defence and security. He therefore assembled his soldiers; and, by a spirited discourse, inflamed their minds with sentiments of glory; rendered them impatient

tient to engage their old enemy, and to retrieve the honour of their arms; and, having thus prepared them for actions of valour, marched towards the confines of Illyria, at the head of ten thousand foot and six hundred horse. Bardyllis perceived the approaching storm, but not without emotion: he would have been well pleased not to expose his reputation, purchased by a long life of military toils, to any hazard, against a prince in the active part of life, of extraordinary vigour and abilities, and who already appeared formidable by his late successes. Ambassadors were therefore sent from the Illyrian, with proposals of peace, on condition that each party should be acknowledged sovereign of those places which they then possessed. To these overtures Philip boldly replied, that an equitable and an honourable peace would be entirely consonant to his inclinations; that he could not regard any peace, as either equitable or honourable, but such a one as should effectually confine the Illyrian within his ancient limits. That he should immediately relinquish all his conquests in Macedon, were the terms which became the king of Macedon to propose; and these the only terms he was determined to accept. This spirited answer put an end to all further negotiations. The Illyrian king ordered

BOOK I.

his troops to march; and, with a due intrepidity, fought out the bold invaders.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 4.

THE armies of the two nations were nearly equal, that of the Illyrians being composed of ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse. They were also equally animated, though by different motives. The Macedonians fought to revenge their late disgraces, and to regain the honour of their arms: the Illyrians came on in the pride of former victories, and were eager to support their advantages, and maintain the glory they had already gained. As they approached, each army endeavoured to strike terror into their assailants, by horrid shouts and outcries, according to the ancient custom of these nations. The Illyrians advanced in one large column, of that kind which the Greeks called Plinthion, to fall with all their weight upon the enemy. The right wing and center of the Macedonians were composed of their choicest infantry, and, among these, the Phalanx lately formed. On the left, Philip stationed his cavalry, who were ordered to wheel about and attack the Illyrians in flank; while the prince, at the head of his favourite body, stood firmly in the front, and bravely sustained their charge. Both sides fought with equal valour, and victory remained long in suspense. At length,

Fron. Strat.
l. 2, c. 3.

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length, the Macedonian cavalry began to make some impression, both on the flank and the rear of the Illyrians; while all the boldest efforts of the Phalanx, and all the military skill of their royal general, were exerted to break their front. Victory began, at length, to favour, and, after a long and obstinate contest, to declare for Philip: repeated charges, directed with due skill, and executed with becoming valour, obliged the Illyrian column to bend and fluctuate: the Macedonians pressed their disordered enemy on all sides; on the front, the flank, and the rear; and, with great havock, broke and dispersed the whole army. More than seven thousand fell on the field of battle; and, among these, the gallant old king Bardyllis; whose mind and body still retained such vigour, that, at the age of ninety, he fought bravely on horseback. This man had raised himself, by his valour, from a state of the greatest meanness and obscurity. Having first gained a few followers, he supported himself by rapine and plunder; and, by remarkable equity and exactness in the distribution of the prey, attached his followers to his interest, and greatly increased their numbers. Hence he seems (in this savage nation, where power was chiefly founded on violence and personal bravery, the great mark of merit) to have been enabled to raise himself to the sovereignty. In

Lucian in
Macrobiis.
Photius
Biblio. p.
1579.

Cic. de Off.
l. 2. sect. 2.

this station he acted with becoming vigour; and now fell in a manner worthy of a warlike prince.

* l. 16.
sect. 4.

THE pursuit was, for some time, continued with considerable slaughter; but, as the rout dispersed and separated the enemy, Philip, who well knew how far to pursue his victory, recalled his soldiers to the field of battle; where he caused the dead to be interred, and, as Diodorus * hath recorded, erected a trophy in honour of this important victory. It is certain, that this account is not agreeable to the established maxim of his predecessors; and that Pausanias, as hath been already observed, asserts, that neither Philip nor Alexander ever erected a trophy in honour of any of their many victories. Yet, in the medals which have been preserved, both of the father and the son, we find a reverse charged with one of these memorials of victory; which seems to favour the account of Diodorus, and to imply, that Philip did really make this innovation in the Macedonian customs; and rather chose to imitate the manners and usages of Greece. And if so, it is a circumstance the more worthy of attention, as it seems to be an indication of the aspiring temper of this prince. His first great ambition was to
make

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make his kingdom be considered as a true and genuine member of the illustrious community of Greece. This was an honour the Greeks were now by no means disposed to grant him; and every circumstance of distinction many of them were sufficiently ready to point out. Hence might possibly have arisen this affectation of conforming to the Grecian manners: which was by no means accidental, or lightly conceived by Philip; but the result of deep design, to place himself and his subjects in a more honourable view than that of barbarians, in which their enemies were willing to consider them; and to abolish every, even the minutest, custom, which might tend to preserve the memory of a distinction so odious and mortifying.

SECT. II,

See Demost.
Phil. 3.
sect. 6. et
alibi.

HOWEVER this may be, the ambitious and daring spirit of Philip, enlivened and elevated by success, now meditated still greater and more extensive designs. The late victory had completely freed his country from the incursions of a dangerous enemy; and reduced Illyria to the condition of a province dependent on Macedon. His abilities, his successes, his whole deportment, obliging and engaging, both by nature and by art, all conspired to captivate the affections of his subjects, and to attach them with particular firmness to his service. They now

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

Book I.

spoke of nothing but the greatness of their king; and, under his direction and command, were prepared to undertake the most hazardous enterprizes. Thus animated, and thus supported, Philip now determined to go on in that course of bold and hazardous enterprizes, which he had hitherto pursued with so much good fortune; and, not contented with securing the peaceable possession of the throne, (which many princes, situated as he had been, would have thought sufficient for their glory) resolved to render his kingdom much more opulent and flourishing, much more powerful and respectable.

AMPHIPOLIS he considered as a city, the possession of which was, in the first place, necessary to his future designs; and which both glory and interest equally prompted him to reunite to Macedon. But many difficulties there were to obstruct an attempt of this nature, which required the most consummate policy to surmount. The Athenians had by no means resigned their pretensions, but prepared to reduce the city by force of arms. The Amphipolitans, on their part, had now tasted the comforts of freedom; and determined, if possible, to maintain their independence: for this purpose, they attached themselves to the Olynthian league, which had
once

once more grown powerful by the ruin of the Spartans. The people, who formed this confederacy, appeared well-disposed to defend them, both against the Athenians, with whom they were, at this time, engaged in a contest; and against Philip, whom they justly dreaded and suspected. Iphicrates, the Athenian, was once more sent against this city, whose abilities soon made him master of all the adjacent posts. The town was blocked up; when a party of the citizens, in the Athenian interest, promised to deliver up one of the gates to him, and gave hostages for the security of their performance. These hostages Iphicrates committed to the care of Charidemus, the commander of a body of hired troops, who then fought under him, and was himself obliged to return to Athens, whither the dissatisfaction of his countrymen had recalled him. Charidemus, pretending to resent the wrongs of Iphicrates, refused to serve under Timotheus, who had succeeded him; and returned the hostages to the Amphipolitans. The Athenians were thus defeated in their hopes of gaining the city; and Timotheus himself was soon after obliged to raise the siege, as he had not forces sufficient to oppose the Olynthians and Thracians, with whom he was at once engaged.

SECT. II.

Demost.
in Aristoc.

BOOK I.

Diod. Sic. l.
16. sect. 8.

THE Amphipolitans, thus secured from their present danger, seem to have grown to some degree of insolence, and to have given Philip real, or pretended, causes of complaint. The Olynthians plainly perceived, that these must necessarily produce an open declaration against them on the part of Philip; and that a place, where many of their subjects had settled, was in imminent danger of falling under the dominion of a prince, whose power was already become formidable to his neighbours. What use he might be tempted to make of such an accession of strength; how far their interest might be affected, and their welfare rendered precarious by it, was uncertain. They, therefore, determined to quiet all their suspicions and jealousies at once, and to provide effectually against all consequences, by a timely union with Athens; and now sent their deputies to that city, to propose an accommodation and alliance.

Demost.
Olynth. 1.
sect. 3.

SUCH a conjunction could not but appear in the highest degree alarming to Philip; his future hopes entirely depended on defeating the design; and, for this purpose, that artifice and policy, which had always so great a share in the success of all his schemes, were now effectually exerted. His agents were instantly dispatched to Athens: the popular leaders, and public ministers,

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ministers, were gained; and the people flattered with the fairest and most plausible declarations. To give these an air of greater sincerity, a negotiation was commenced, and a formal stipulation made, that the Athenians, in the first place, should be put in possession of Amphipolis; and that they, on their part, should give up Pydna to Philip; which, though famous for its fidelity and attachment to Amyntas, an attachment carried even to adoration, as we learn from Aristides *, yet had revolted from Philip, and committed itself to the protection of Athens. Under the pretence of preventing the inhabitants of this city from taking the alarm, and seeking the defence of some other state, the whole transaction was privately carried on in the senate of five hundred, without being referred, as usual, to the assembly of the people: and, by this means, there was the greater room for evasion and subterfuge, and better opportunity for delays and difficulties. The Athenians, fired with expectations of regaining Amphipolis, the great object of their wishes, suffered themselves to be amused, and, with the most insolent contempt, refused to receive any overtures from the Olynthian deputies; a treatment which justly irritated their state, and determined it to give all possible opposition to the Athenian interest.

SECT. II.

Demost.
Olynth. 1.
sect. 3.

* Orat. de
Societ. tom.
I. p. 480.

Theopompus in Ulp.
& Suida.

Demost. ut
supra.

BOOK I.

Dem. Phil.
2. sect. 4.

THIS was the disposition with which Philip wished to inspire the Olynthians. He instantly applied himself to them, while yet their resentment was violent; he flattered, he courted, he promised them, and they readily hearkened to his proposals. With an air of the utmost friendship and cordiality, he gave them up Anthemus, a city which separated Olynthus from the sea, and which had, for a long series of years, acknowledged the jurisdiction of the kings of Macedon: and, thus gratified and obliged, the Olynthians made no difficulty of entering into strict engagements with their benefactor. By these means did this consummate master of intrigue dispel that storm, which, had it once burst forth, must have destroyed his rising greatness, and engaged a powerful and important people firmly to his interests, who had ever regarded him with envy and discontent, and were, but a moment before, prepared to unite with his most dangerous antagonists.

STRENGTHENED by this new alliance, he made no scruple of avowing those hostile intentions, which he had, for some time, entertained against Amphipolis. He had art sufficient to persuade the Olynthians, that their interest, as well as that of Macedon, required that he should reduce this city to his obedience. This
people

people had also some wrongs to urge against the inhabitants. It was therefore determined to unite their resentments; and Amphipolis was pressed by a vigorous siege. The Amphipolitans, more affected by danger, when it had once fallen upon them, than attentive to the means of preventing it, had recourse to Athens in this emergency, and sent two of their citizens to desire the protection of that state. The Athenians had just now given an uncommon proof of attention to their public interests. The island of Euboea had been, for some time, under their protection; and its respective cities were governed by persons devoted to their service. Disorders, however, had arisen; and a sedition, fomented and supported by the Thebans, whose forces had been admitted into some of the cities, threatened the whole island with a revolution. Menefarchus, the governor of Chalcis, had been guilty of some outrages against the Athenians: Themison, who governed in Eretria, had also given them a particular cause of complaint. He had taken from them the city of Oropus, situated on the confines of Attica and Boeotia, and given it into the hands of the Thebans; who still obstinately refused to restore it to a people, who either could not, or were not disposed to make use of any other means

Sect. II.

Diod. Sic. I.
16. sect. 8.

Demost. Olyn. 3.
sect. 4.

Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
31.

Book I.

means for recovering this city, but those of remonstrating, and pleading the justice of their pretensions. Yet these chiefs now found themselves obliged to implore the assistance of the Athenians, who, notwithstanding all former complaints and quarrels, could not but see the necessity of supporting their interest in Euboea, which, by its situation, served either to command, or to defend, the country of Attica; and, by its fertility, supplied it amply with provisions. But, although the attempt of Thebes was sufficiently alarming, yet doubts and delays were arising; when Timotheus, the great Athenian general, appeared in the assembly. "What, my countrymen," cried he, "the Thebans are in the island; and are you de-
 liberating? why are you not already at the port? why are you not embarked? why is not the sea covered with your navy?" So spirited an address, determined them at once: in five days, they entered Euboea; in thirty, they obliged the Thebans to come to terms, and to evacuate the island; and, on their return, Hierax and Stratocles, the deputies of Amphipolis, appeared before them to implore their aid upon a like occasion. They represented the danger of a junction between Philip and Olynthus in the strongest light; and earnestly pressed them to send out their fleet, to take a city under their

Demost. de
Cherson. in
fine.

Æsch. ut
supra.

Dem. O.
lynth. 3.
sect. 4.

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their protection, which they had long desired to possess; and, by that means, to prevent it from falling under the power of their common enemy.

SECT. II.

THE late instance of their vigour made Philip see plainly the necessity of having once more recourse to artifice. He therefore addressed a letter to the Athenians, which he well knew how to draw up in the most specious and insinuating terms. In this he acknowledged their pretensions to the city, which he now besieged; he renewed the assurances of his friendship; he declared, that it was his real intention to surrender Amphipolis to them; and that, for this purpose, and with this design alone, he had now laid siege to it. The Athenians, who were entirely engaged by a general revolt of their allies, and dependent towns, (which produced the war, called the *social war*) easily suffered themselves to be amused by these representations; and, pleased with the least appearance of a pretence to justify them in not engaging in an enterprize, for which they were not sufficiently at leisure, absolutely rejected the propositions of the Amphipolitan deputies; and refused to send succours to a city, which they fondly imagined they should receive without any trouble. Philip was thus left at liberty to press the city with double

Demost. in
Aristocr.

Dem. O.
lynth. 3.
sect. 4.

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Diod. Sic.
l. 16. sect.
8. Dem.
Olyn. 3.
sect. 6.

double vigour; a breach was made in the walls; the Macedonians entered; and the citizens, finding all resistance ineffectual, were obliged to surrender themselves to the mercy of a conqueror, whom they had provoked by an obstinate defence; though, by an unaccountable inconsistency of conduct, they still continued to pay him divine honours.

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

PHILIP, now master of Amphipolis, contented himself with banishing those who had opposed him with greatest violence, and treated the rest of the inhabitants with sufficient lenity. His design was by no means to exterminate, but to command them. The situation and importance of their city, and the extent and conveniencies of its commerce, recommended them to his protection; and determined him to shew a just regard to the welfare and tranquillity of so valuable an acquisition. Far from gratifying the expectations, which the slightest grounds had been sufficient to make the Athenians entertain, he reunited Amphipolis to Macedon, and resolved to brave all the resentment of that people; yet, still with due caution and policy, he judged it necessary to arm himself against any effects of that resentment; and, for this purpose, determined to cement the union which now subsisted between him and the Olynthians.

THEY

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III

THEY were possessed of a considerable power, both by sea and land. They had conceived high notions of their own importance, and had already discovered their jealousy of Philip's increasing power, which, though it had for the present subsided, yet might still break out, on any future alarm. Favours and benefits, therefore, were the only sure means of confirming them in his interest; and he soon found opportunities of gratifying them. The revolt of Pydna afforded him a fair occasion of marching against that city, in order to reduce it to his obedience. The siege was formed; and the Pydneans, unsupported by their new sovereigns, were soon obliged to surrender. Libanus * and Aristides † have both asserted, that, at the very time when these people were performing those solemn rites, by which the terms of their capitulation were ratified, Philip ordered his soldiers to fall on them without mercy, and thus cruelly massacred a considerable number of the citizens. But such an instance of barbarity would not, it may reasonably be presumed, have been omitted by Demosthenes, who represented all the actions of this prince in the blackest light; nor is it at all consistent with the tenour of his actions: for, although his humanity was, on many occasions, made to yield to his policy and ambition, yet unnecessary barbarity was neither

con-

SECT. II.

Dem. O.

Olynth. 1.

sect. 1.

Olynth. 2.

sect. 4.

Olynth. 3.

sect. 4. &

alibi.

* Liban.

vol. 1. p.

106.

† Arist.

Orat. de

Societ. tom.

1. p. 4^{to}.

Book I.

consistent with his temper, nor his interest. It seems more reasonable to suppose, that he accepted of the submission of the inhabitants, without inflicting any extraordinary severities, and without disgracing his present to the Olynthians, to whom he now gave up Pydna, by putting them in possession of a city, depopulated and polluted by the blood of helpless wretches, who had laid down their arms, and yielded themselves up to mercy.

Ibid. Phil.
2. sect. 4.
Diod. Sic. 1,
16. sect. 8.

To gratify the Olynthians still farther, he, in the next place, turned his arms against Potidaea. This city had been taken some years since by Timotheus, and was now in possession of the Athenians; but, as it had been originally dependent on Olynthus, with professions of the truest affection, he made a tender of his assistance, in order to reduce it to their obedience. His proposal was readily accepted; and he now marched, at the head of a formidable force, against a city by no means capable of contending with the united powers of two such confederates. The gates of Potidaea were soon obliged to be thrown open to receive the besiegers. The Athenian garrison, from a vain expectation of relief, retired into the citadel, and there continued the opposition, till, convinced of their abandoned and desperate condition, they con-

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consented to yield to superiour force, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In this siege, Philip affected only to be considered as ally to Olynthus, to be engaged entirely on their account, without any hopes of private advantage. The city, therefore, was instantly given up to the Olynthians: but the Athenian prisoners he took under his protection, as the citizens of a state, for which he professed the greatest veneration and regard. With declarations the most flattering, and with every mark of honour and esteem, he freely dismissed those Athenians, loaded with favours, and conducted, in security, to their city. Thus tempering his very hostilities by a deportment the most obliging and caressing; so as still to have room for palliating his conduct, and disguising his most flagrant opposition, by the specious plea of necessity.

SECT. II.

Demost.
Olynth. 1.
sect. 6.

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

FAME now began to speak loudly of his actions; and all the adjacent states beheld him with admiration and terrour. A spirited and seasonable association might still have crushed his growing power; but his manners and qualifications were admirably calculated to frustrate such designs: his engaging affability, and insinuating address, stole the affections of all who approached him: they who beheld him, could not conceive him dangerous or aspiring: and;

Dem. &
Æsch. d.
falsa L.
passim.

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I

when

when they had once conversed with him, even the clearest evidence could scarcely efface their prejudices in his favour. His penetration pierced into their most secret sentiments; his caution and policy concealed his own; while he seemed implicitly to resign himself up to all those who were admitted to his presence, with an appearance of undesigned confidence, capable of imposing on the most guarded, and best experienced in the ways of men. Hence it was, that the powers, concerned to oppose him, were persuaded that they enjoyed, or might easily acquire, his friendship: and, instead of concerting measures for the general defence, each thought themselves sufficiently secure, when his arms were turned away from them; and, by this fatal insensibility, suffered that power to increase, without any effectual interruption or controul, which was at length to involve them all in one general ruin.

PHILIP, on his part, knew how to improve every opportunity, and every instance of imprudence in his rivals. He had now firmly secured the friendship of the Olynthians, by putting them in possession of some places, which, had he kept himself, their garrisons must have considerably weakened his army. And, having thus

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Sect. II.

thus provided for the security of his kingdom; reconciled a powerful neighbouring state to his government, and engaged it in his service by the ties of interest and gratitude, his active soul prompted him to take the advantage of those favourable circumstances, and to march out of his dominions in pursuit of further conquests. The people of Thrace had long considered Macedon as a district rent from their dominions: they had frequently infested it, and sometimes with success; their late attempt to set Pausanias on the throne Philip's art could improve into a fair cause, and justification, of hostilities. Against them, therefore, he now determined to march, and the character of their king gave him just grounds to hope for success.

Thucyd. l. 2.

Corys, who at this time governed the eastern Thrace, possessed the Chersonesus, and the coasts of the Egean sea, as far as the Euxine. He had at first discovered some wisdom in the administration of affairs. He strengthened himself by an alliance with Athens; and gave his daughter in marriage to Iphicrates; on which occasion he discovered such satisfaction, and thought himself so much honoured, that he even descended to wait at table on those who were assembled at the nuptials. He had no fixed re-

Corn. Nep.
in Iphic.
Athenae. 1.
4. p. 231.

THE LIFE AND REIGN OF

sidence in his dominions ; but, as they contained the most beautiful forests, and were watered by many rivers, whose banks were embroidered with variety of fragrant flowers, he ranged about with his attendants, and pitched his tents wherever the beauty of the place invited him. These delightful retreats gave a wild and romantic turn to his mind, so that he at length conceived the fancy of being enamoured with Minerva. He quitted his court, and pierced into the recesses of his groves, to enjoy, as he pretended, the conversation of this goddess. All preparations were made for the reception of his divine mistress ; and his guards sent out to see whether she was not attending to receive him : their answers were fatal to them, whether they soothed his folly or declared the truth ; in either case he revenged the disappointment, by putting them instantly to death. He ordered one of his concubines to assume the attributes and ornaments of the Athenian Minerva. In a word, his mind was totally disordered, which appeared no less in his public conduct. He engaged his son-in-law to wage war on his country ; and, having gained a naval victory over the Athenians, by means of this general, he deprived them of all their territories in the Chersonesus, and attacked their colonies on the coast of Thrace. To support

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port this war, he demanded a loan from the people of Perinthus, which they refused. He then desired, that they should, at least, grant him some troops to replace his garrisons, that he might be enabled to appear with all his forces in the field. The Perinthians flattered themselves, that it would be in their power to keep those places where they were to be stationed, as a security for his performing the terms of their stipulation; and therefore agreed to his demand. But this capricious prince treated their succours as prisoners, and refused to dismiss them without a ransom.

SECT. II.

Aristot.
Oeconom.
l. 2. p. 508.
Ed. Lutet.

SUCH was the man against whom Philip marched. The particulars of his expedition are not recorded exactly by any historian now extant: but the Thracian king seems to have fled, with precipitation, at the bare rumour of so formidable an enemy; for, from a fragment of Theopompus, which Athenaeus† hath preserved, we learn, that, on the third day of their march, the Macedonians possessed themselves of Onocarsis, a delightful residence, situated in the midst of a forest, to which Cotys had opened several avenues; and which was most frequently the seat of his enjoyments. The Thracian prince, thus driven from his favourite settlement, and

† l. 12. p. 531.

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Plot. in
Apophth.

unable to oppose an enemy who were now freely traversing and wasting his dominions, vainly hoped to stop the progress of Philip by a letter. Its contents are not known, but, we must suppose, were in the highest degree extravagant. The bare mention of a letter from Cotys raised a loud exclamation of contempt and ridicule among the Macedonian courtiers. "Yes," replied Philip, "from Cotys! doth that excite your mirth? you little think what demands he makes."

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

THE arms of this prince were as ineffectual as his negotiations. Some few parties of the Thracians were sent out against Philip, whom he with ease dispersed, and pursued his march to the shore. He encamped near Crenidae, a colony of the Thassians, equally distant from the mountains of Thrace and from the sea. The beauty of the situation was sufficiently striking: a lake, into which there entered divers streams and rivulets, tempered the dryness of the soil; which produced fruits of the finest and most delicious kind, and roses of a peculiar hue and fragrantcy. But Philip, however delighted with the charms of nature, was determined to this residence, by a much more material consideration. The grand object of his attention were those mines of gold

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in the neighbouring mountains, of which he had been well informed, and from whence he promised himself considerable advantages. He drove out the Thracians from Crenidae, which they had just built (without any regard to their alliance with Athens); settled a colony of Macedonians there, and called the place, after his own name, Philippi, so famous afterwards, in the Roman history, for the defeat of Brutus and Cassius. He then proceeded to examine the state of those celebrated mines: his soldiers descended, with their torches, into a vein, which had not been wrought upon for a considerable time. Here they traced the art and labour of the ancient possessors. Canals had been contrived, with infinite pains, to drain off the water, which burst forth into subterraneous lakes; and many circumstances appeared to encourage and to facilitate his design, though the barbarous inhabitants had, for a long time, neglected this important fund of wealth. Numbers were instantly employed; and all the contrivances, which ingenuity could suggest, were made use of, in order to work those mines to greater advantage than had hitherto been derived from them. The success rewarded his labours; for he, by this means, established an annual revenue of ten thousand talents, without any burden or imposition on his subjects. And, how-

Sæcr. II.

Dem. in
Lept.
Diod. l. 16.
sect. 9.

Asclepiodotus in Seneca.
Nat. Quæst.
l. 5. p. 763.
Ed. Lips.

Book I.

ever severely the philosopher Seneca [D] may have spoken of this transaction, such a resource will not be thought unworthy of the attention of a wise prince. He now struck that celebrated coin, which was called after his own name: it was dispersed liberally to promote his aspiring schemes, and soon became of general high estimation, as formed of the purest metal which these mines afforded. By this he was enabled to reinforce his army with a numerous body of mercenary soldiers, of whom many were found in all the neighbouring nations, ready to

Diod. Sic.
l. 16. sect. 8.

[D] Asclepiodotus auctor est, demissos quamplurimos a Philippo in metallum antiquum, olim destitutum, ut explorarent, quae ubertas ejus esset, quis status; an aliquid futuris reliquisset vetus avaritia: descendisse illos cum multo lumine, & multos durasse dies: deinde longâ viâ fatigatos vidisse flumina ingentia, & conceptus aquarum impertium vastos pares nostris, nec compressos quidem terrâ supereminente, sed liberae laxitatis non sine horrore visos. Cum magnâ haec legi voluptate, intellexi enim saeculum nostrum non novis vitiis, sed jam antiquitus traditis laborare: nec nostrâ aetate primum avaritiam venas terrarum lapidumque rimatam in tenebris male abstrusa quaevisse. Illi quoque majores nostri, quos celebramus laudibus, quibus dissimiles querimur nos esse, spe ducti montes ceciderunt, ut supra lucrum sub ruina steterunt. Ante Philippum Macedonem reges fuere, qui pecuniam in altissimis usque latebris sequerentur; & relicto spiritu libero, in illos se demitterent specus in quos nullum noctium, dierumque perveniret discrimen; & a tergo lucem relinquerent, &c.

SENECA.

receive

receive the pay of an opulent and renowned prince: and this coin he liberally distributed in all the states whose councils or actions might effect his designs: where numbers of creatures were thus secured in an age of luxury and depravity, who considered themselves as retained by a generous master, and obliged to be ever in readiness to act, to speak, to advise, to influence, just as his service required, and his commands dictated. Having thus projected and prepared the means of facilitating his future designs; and having made all the necessary dispositions for the establishment of his new colony at Philippi, he proceeded to pursue his advantages over the king of Thrace, who, on the other hand, was as violently pressed by the Athenians.

SECT. II.

WHEN Timotheus found himself obliged to raise the siege of Amphipolis, some time before this city was reduced by Philip, that general fell on Thrace, and there made some conquests, which might have been improved still further, had he been properly supported by Charidemus. But this commander withdrew his mercenaries, and passed over into Asia, where he engaged in the service of Artabazus, a revolted satrap. Here he soon found himself obliged to support his forces, by plundering some towns dependent on that satrap, whom he came to serve. When the

Demost. in
Aristocr.

Book I.

the spoil was well nigh consumed, and no further resource appeared, he pretended to return to the service of the Athenians; and demanded, from their general Cephisodorus, a fleet to convey him back to Europe, with assurances that he would reduce the Chersonesus to the subjection of the Athenians. This people, encouraged by these hopes, granted his request; and Artabazus, by the interposition of Memnon and Mentor, his kinsmen, suffered him to embark.

Demost. in
Aristocr.

CHARIDEMUS, instead of performing his promise, returned to the service of Cotys, and reduced two cities that were under the Athenian jurisdiction; but, the extravagance of this prince increasing with his success, he was assassinated, in the midst of his court, by two brothers, Python and Heraclides, of the city of Ænus in Thrace; to whom the Athenians gave all the honours which they usually decreed to the murderers of tyrants, although they had been entirely prompted by private revenge, as Cotys had, some time before, caused their father to be put to death.

CERSOBLEPTES, Berisides, and Amadocus, were his joint successors; which produced much confusion, by the attempts of Cersebleptes to dispossess the other two. Charidemus espoused him;

him; Anthenodorus and Miltocythes, who had some petty sovereignties in Thrace, supported the interest of the others. The Athenians, depending on the services of Charidemus sent Cephisodotus into Thrace, with instructions to assist the coheirs, and to attempt the recovery of the Chersonesus. But Charidemus disappointed their expectations, attacked Cephisodotus, and obliged him to sign a treaty, whereby the Athenians acknowledged Cerfobleptes sole king of Thrace.

AT Athens this treaty was disavowed, and their general condemned to pay a large fine. Miltocythes, supported by the Athenians, asserted the right of Berisides and Amadochus. But Charidemus caused him, and his son, to be seized; and, as he apprehended the clemency of Cerfobleptes, delivered them into the hands of the Cardians, the most avowed enemies which the Athenians had in those parts: and this people put them to death, with circumstances of the utmost cruelty. There now remained only Anthenodorus, who, depending on the assistance of Athens, continued his attachment to the two princes. Athens, however, sent no other assistance than their general Chabrias, with a single vessel; who, as he had no forces, was obliged to accede to all the demands of Charidemus.

Demost. in
Aristoc.

demus. Dissatisfied at this transaction, and convinced of their error, the people determined to correct it. Chares was sent to Thrace with a fleet of sixty sail; who obliged Cersobleptes to sign a more equitable treaty; and Thrace was divided equally between the three coheirs.

THE king of Macedon was strictly attentive to all these transactions; and, though he as yet deemed it inconsistent with good policy to use open force, in order to disturb any system which the people of Athens espoused; yet it was sufficiently apparent, that he studied to derive advantages to himself from the disorders of Thrace.

Demost. in
Aristoc.

The Chersonesus, the great mart of all the Thracian commerce, from whose ports was derived an annual revenue of no less than two hundred talents, was deservedly the principal object of his regards. Here he determined to establish an interest, by the secret methods of intrigue, until the terror of his arms might be more opportunely employed. To the people of Cardia, the principal city of this peninsula, he seems to have applied early; and to have founded his designs on their aversion to the jurisdiction of the Athenians, who formerly possessed, and now claimed the Chersonesus; though the war, in which they were engaged with the allies, prevented them from effectually supporting their

title. Philip well knew how to take the due advantage of their embarrassments. He was now powerful and formidable; his kingdom completely settled; his frontier secured and extended on one side to the sea of Thrace, and, on the other, to the lake Lynitis: his finances were large and well regulated; and all the advantages of commerce abundantly secured by the possession of Amphipolis. Situated as it were, at an advantageous point of view, he surveyed the several states of Greece; observed their different interests, tempers, and dispositions, their errors and corruptions: and, with the utmost reason, exulted in the prospect, that the designs of extensive power, which his vast ambition dictated, were now ripening to execution.

SECT. II.

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side. Philip well knew how to take the due advantage of their enmities. He was now powerful and formidable; his kingdom completely settled; his frontier secured and extended on all sides; the cities of Thrace and on the other, to the Lake Lychnis; his subjects were brave and well regulated, and all the advantages of nature abundantly secured by the position of Amphipolis. Situated as it was, it was an advantageous point of view, he formed the natural focus of commerce; collected there the richest treasures of the East, and distributed them among his subjects; that with the natural resources, he was enabled to project, that the progress of commerce, and the vast acquisition of wealth, and the power of the kingdom.

BOOK I. SECTION III.

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THE necessity of considering the genius and character of the principal states of Greece.—The original cause, and gradual progress, of corruption in that nation.—The character and present condition of the Athenians.—Their degeneracy accounted for.—Effects of their passion for theatrical entertainments.—The influence of their manners on the theatre.—Their conduct in the public assembly.—Their orators.—Their present conduct in war.—Their private life.—Circumstances and dispositions of the Spartans, Argians, and Messenians.—Of the Thebans,—the Phocians,—and the Thessalians.—Death of Alexander of Pherae.—Usurpation of Tisiphonus, Pitolaus, and Lycopbron.—Philip invited into Thessaly.—He defeats and dispossesses the usurpers.—Advantages of this expedition.—The arts by which Philip established his interest in Thessaly.—Philip espouses Olympias.—The celebration of their nuptials.—Omens and prodigies which ancient writers have recorded.—Opinion of Bayle,
with

with respect to a letter of Olympias to her son.—
The Illyrians, Paeonians, and Thracians, join in
a confederacy against Philip.—Their designs de-
 feated.—The birth of Alexander the Great.—Philip
 pursues his Thracian conquests.—Is checked by the
 Athenians.—The fatal effects of their errors and
 passions.—Chares, their general, irritates the king
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BOOK THE FIRST.

SECTION III.

WE are now advancing to the period of this history, when Greece began to be the scene of many of Philip's enterprises. The affairs of that nation have already appeared to be in part connected with his earlier actions: and from henceforward we shall find, that the events, which disturbed the peace of its different states, or called forth their armies, were many of them the effect of his machinations, and almost all determined by his valour or policy. We shall find his life one uniform scheme of watching their commotions, fomenting their disorders, and establishing his own power on their weakness and corruption. The whole body, collectively, hath been already presented to the reader. And it must be deemed a necessary part of this work, here to consider its several leading members, in order to trace the internal causes, the latent sources, of those events, which we shall find gradually operating to the full establishment of the Macedonian em-

See preliminary dissertation.

Book I.

pire, and the final ruin of a people, who have ever appeared highly worthy the attention of all ages; and, from whose fall, we may derive some of the most important instructions, which history holds forth to mankind.

† l. 8. c. 2.

THE different fluctuations of power, and the variety of fortune, which the principal states, in their turns, experienced, had now inspired them with the dangerous passions of revenge, jealousy, mutual diffidence, and mutual aversion; and raised that spirit of discord and contention for pre-eminence, which were the great basis on which Philip founded his designs. The states of Greece, saith Justin †, while each was ambitious of commanding, all lost that darling object of their wishes: and, while they rushed on with blind fury to the destruction of each other, never perceived, till they were irrecoverably lost, that the distresses of every particular member intimately affected the whole body.

THESE continual struggles for power took their rise from the time that the Persian had been defeated, and were the chief causes of the depravation of manners which then began, and gradually increased, in Greece, down to its final ruin. The contending parties frequently found

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SECT. III.

it convenient to apply to the Persians for assistance; a nation whom they had hitherto thought it their glory to regard with abhorrence and contempt. But their ambition now made them servile and complying. In ancient times, their wars were carried on with the simplicity and openness of a generous and honest people; but now intrigue, and cabal, and corruption, began to prevail among them, though by slow degrees. Bribery crept in, even where the constitution demanded and enjoined an utter contempt and disregard for riches: and Persian agents were seen in every state, practising with ministers, and influencing the public councils.

BUT, as all corruption is gradual, the Athenians (particularly) could not at once forget their original principles, but still expressed, on some occasions, those sublime ideas of virtue and integrity, which had been derived from their ancestors. When the king of Persia had sent his agent to bribe the Peloponnesians to take up arms against them, instead of revenge and resentment, they expressed the most generous indignation at this base attempt upon the integrity of Greece: and thundered out a severe sentence of proscription against the man who had presumed to bring gold into Peloponnesus. But such appearances were never lasting,

Dem. Phil.
3. sect. 9.

being generally assumed to conceal less honourable motives, or were, at best, but the temporary effects of sensibility and delicacy, which were soon forgotten with the occasion, among a people, where resolution and constancy were wanting, and where that uniformity and consistency of conduct were utterly unknown, which only can render men really good and great, whatever principles they may have imbibed, or whatever character they may assume.

ATHENS was now confessedly the greatest and most eminent of the Grecian states. The honours which she had acquired in the famous Persian war, inspired her citizens with the most exalted ideas of virtue and glory. The success of their repeated contests for liberty and pre-eminence, gave them the highest notions of their strength and abilities: and all the transactions of their country, frequently celebrated by their writers, and displayed in all the pomp of eloquence by their orators, inspired them with a peculiar national vanity, which continued in its full strength, even in their lowest state of degeneracy. Various and inconstant in their tempers and passions, they were easily provoked, saith Plutarch *, and as easily returned to sentiments of benevolence and compassion. Admirers of wit, and encouragers of gaiety and plea-

* in Prat.
sep. Reip.
ger.

pleasantry: but unfortunately to such excess, that a jest too often determined them in their most important deliberations, and ridicule became their test of truth. They possessed, in a great degree, and even affected, a quickness of conception and penetration; but this was unhappily accompanied with an impatience of attention, and an aversion to deliberate and well-weighed counsels.

WHEN the Thebans triumphed over the power of Sparta, had their general survived his victories, so dangerous a rival might have kept the Athenians duly attentive to their public interests: but history ascribes their ruin to that fatal security with which the death of Epaminondas inspired them. Confirmed in their power, as they thought, and freed from all danger and competition by this event, they now indulged their love of ease and self-enjoyment, without measure or control.

Justin, l. 6,
c. 9.

THEIR affluence had been succeeded by luxury; and luxury they adorned and recommended by all the arts and refinements of taste and elegance. Music and poetry, public entertainments, and spectacles, had ever been the objects of their warmest affection; but were now made the business and occupation of their

Book I.

Dem.
Phil. 1.
sect. 13.Plut in
Nicia.

lives. The lowest of the people were, in a good degree, judges of the polite and fine arts. Men who excelled in those, were invited and encouraged by their taste, and rewarded magnificently by their opulence. A public festival was, in these days, celebrated with more expence, engaged more numbers, and was the object of greater attention, than was granted to the raising an army, or to the equipment of a fleet. To the theatre particularly they had ever been most passionately devoted: and some of their meanest citizens, when in distress and captivity, had been enabled to purchase relief and liberty, by charming their masters with the verses of their admired tragic writers. But now the support of the theatre was become so much the concern of the state, that their more serious and momentous affairs were sacrificed to it, by an astonishing establishment, which will here require to be explained.

In the early ages, the theatre knew not that magnificence, which riches and luxury afterwards introduced. Slight and unadorned edifices were occasionally raised, the people admitted freely to the entertainments, and the right of places and precedence entirely undetermined. The people assembled in a tumultuary manner, and the first occupier thought himself entitled

intituled to oppose all attempts to dispossess him of his seat. Hence disorder and contentions sometimes arose: to prevent which, the magistrates ordained, that a small price should be paid for places, to reimburse the expence of erecting the theatre. Though the tax was low, the poorer citizens complained; and Pericles, an able and artful politician, fatally conceived a scheme of ingratiating himself with them, by removing this pretended grievance. It had been agreed, in a time of tranquillity, that one thousand talents should be annually deposited in the treasury, there to remain inviolable, as a public resource, in case of any invasion of Attica. This was, for a while, observed with the attention usually paid to all new regulations. But Pericles proposed, that this sum should be distributed among the poorer citizens, to defray the expences of their theatrical entertainments; with a reservation, that, in time of war, it should be applied to the military service, agreeably to the original intention. Both the proposition and the restriction were accepted. But, as relaxations of all kinds degenerate sooner or later into licence, the people became so intoxicated at length with the gay scenes with which riches and politeness entertained them, that no public emergencies could induce them to resign these distributions; and we shall soon see them

SECT. III.

Plot. in
Peric. Thucyd. l. 2.

BOOK I. forbidding any man, on pain of death, to move for restoring what was now called the theatrical money, to the military, or any other public service.

THE theatre, for whose support they provided thus amply, was infected by the general depravation; and, in its turn, contributed to diffuse and increase the infection. In the early ages, their drama was eminently remarkable for chastity of sentiment. Immorality, even in the mouth of a vicious character, was known to have excited a loud and general indignation in an Athenian audience. But now their ears were accustomed to obscenity and impiety (though these, it must be allowed, were never made the great business of the representation; nor were these the qualities, which rendered a character the favourite of the audience.) Formerly, they found allusions in their admired poets, which were, with pleasure, applied to express their sense of the valour and virtue of their countrymen; now no character, however exalted or honourable, could escape the wantonness and intemperance of their satire. And this unhappy spirit of ridicule, with which they were possessed, depraved their taste, and corrupted their hearts. When the wisest and best of their citizens was to be made the victim of their folly and

and caprice, he was first made contemptible and ridiculous upon the stage. Sect. III.

As public virtue is, in an especial manner, the basis of a democratical government, when this was impaired, their very constitution must have contributed to hurry on their ruin. The final determination of all public affairs was in the popular assembly, and this assembly was now made up of several distinct factions, which almost always pursued their own particular views and interests; as to be excused from personal service in war; from contributing their share in the public expences; or the like. The public leaders, and speakers, perceived and flattered this weakness. They were the springs which moved the whole community; the administration was, in a great measure, committed to them; and they had, [A] some time since, learned the art of applying it to enriching and aggrandizing themselves and their families. Many

Dem. in
Philippicis
passim.

[A] ARISTOPHANES, in many of his plays, is particularly severe on the corruption, and servile adulation, of the Athenian orators. An ancient poet, from whom Athenaeus hath preserved some fragments, in reckoning up the several wares and commodities, which were sold at Athens, closes his catalogue, with Κληυδραι, Νομοι, Γραφαι. The decisions of judicial causes, laws, and decrees.

ATHEN. l. 14. p. 640.

of

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of them were already the pensioners of Philip; and, while they earned his pay, at the same time secured their own power, and acquired the favour of the people, by flattering their supineness, and recommending pacific measures, under various plausible pretences. Sometimes the enemy was too weak, and inconsiderable, to be an object of terror to the great sovereigns and arbiters of Greece: sometimes he was too powerful and formidable; it was rash and impolitic to provoke his resentment; a war was burdensome and expensive; the balance of power a romantic consideration; and the true interest of the state, to attend to her domestic affairs, and to secure and improve the advantages of commerce. If some bold attempt, upon their dominions, roused them from their insensibility, then their national pride and vanity dictated the most magnificent and pompous decrees and resolutions: armies were to be raised, and navies sent abroad: but, in these magnificent decrees, their courage all evaporated. Affected delays arose; their love of ease returned; they sent out some mercenary troops (for to these were their interests now entrusted) commanded by a general, chosen by cabal and intrigue. He sails out, dreaded and suspected by their allies, whom he oppresses and pillages; despised by the enemy, whom he takes care to avoid; and, when he

at

at last appears before the place he is appointed to relieve, it is in the hands of the besiegers. Thus, like unskilful boxers (to use the similitude of their own * orator) they think of defending themselves, when they have already received the blow. And this defence generally proves weak and insufficient, even if exerted seasonably. Their forces then return; their general is brought to a trial; and either condemned rashly for not performing what, with a wretched collection of mercenaries, unaffected by any sentiments of honour, or regard for the public cause, and unprovided with pay or provisions, he could not perform; or else he screens his cowardice and bad conduct, under the protection of a powerful faction, and so escapes from public justice. It is true, that, even in this state of their degeneracy, some acts of valour were performed not unworthy of their early and uncorrupted age: nor did they want able statesmen, or valiant, judicious, and faithful generals: but the first had the vices and prejudices of their countrymen to encounter, as well as the opposition and eloquence of corrupted leaders: and their greatest commanders were either laid aside by the power of faction, or their abilities were rendered ineffectual by the general indolence and misconduct of the state; or, lastly, they were condemned rashly and unjustly,

SECT. III.

* Dem. Phil.
1. sect. 14.

justly, and disqualified from serving the public, at the time when their services were particularly demanded.

It may not be thought unworthy of attention, to examine what was the manner of private life, in Athens, at the eve of its downfall, when every part of its government betrayed such total corruption and depravity: and of this * Athenaeus hath particularly informed us. A love for public spectacles was the first thing which the youth was taught. There every object, which could inflame their passions, was presented to their view: they hung with an effeminate pleasure on the musical airs, with which women were employed to enervate and captivate them: they wasted their important hours, which should have been devoted to discipline and instruction, in wanton dalliance with the performers; and lavished their fortune, and their vigour, in an infamous commerce with these, and other women of abandoned characters. The schools of their philosophers were in vain open for their instruction; and, possibly, these might have been held in some contempt, as fitted only for the formal and recluse, and beneath the notice of the man of business, destined to the exalted and active scenes of life. Thus, the younger men entered into what is now called the world, totally ignorant,

rant, and considerably corrupted: already accustomed to regard all selfish gratifications, as their chief happiness; and prepared to acquire the means of these gratifications, by the most sordid, or the most iniquitous practices. Their love of money, or their incapacity for more rational entertainment, engaged them in gaming; which, when frequently indulged, is well known to grow into an infatuating habit, which taste and reflection cannot always subdue. Magnificent and costly feasts were now also become honourable distinctions at Athens. The sordid gratification of their palate became the study, and exercised the invention, of its inhabitants. Thus was their wealth lavishly and ignobly wasted, while the public exigencies were sparingly and reluctantly supplied. Athenæus * hath even recorded one almost incredible instance of their depravity. They had lately, as we learn from this author, conferred the freedom of their city (the highest compliment usually paid to kings and potentates) on two men, whose only merit was, that their father had been eminent in the art of cookery, and was famous for having introduced new sauces.

Sect. III.

Athen. ut supra.

* L. 9.
p. 119.

SUCH was the people with whom the king of Macedon was principally engaged. Their influence

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Nep. in
Chab.

lence and oppression had, at this time, involved them in an important contest with their allies and dependent cities, whom they had driven into rebellion. They began their operations, against those revolters, by the siege of Chios; where Chabrias, one of their commanders, remarkable for vigour, humanity, and integrity, unhappily attempted to push up to the city with a single vessel; and, in a transport of romantic valour, leaped on shore; disdained to retire, though deserted by his soldiers; was surrounded and killed. Every loss of this nature, at a time so critical, was of the utmost importance to this people. Yet those generals, whom war spared, their own caprice, and blind prejudices, frequently destroyed.

Of the other states of Greece, Sparta still was considered as the most eminent; though its power had received the deadly wound by the successes of Epaminondas. Agesilaus, who had raised this state to the summit of glory, lived to be witness of its fall. Archidamus, his son, never failed to watch all occasions of recovering some shew of that power which Sparta had formerly possessed. The successes of Epaminondas had been particularly favourable to many of the inhabitants and people of Peloponnesus. His truly humane disposition,
and

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and his just and extensive policy, both determined him to restore those to their liberty and independence, who had been harassed and oppressed by Sparta; and to support the interests of those neighbouring states, who had experienced the severity of her dominion. Hence were the people of Argos (who remembered, with pleasure, the generalship of Agamemnon, and entertained high notions of their own dignity) encouraged to avow that enmity which they had ever harboured against the Spartans. The Arcadians, by the advice and with the assistance of the Theban general, according to Pausanias *, consulted for their security by collecting all their force into one common city, which they built, and called Megalopolis, or the great city. The Messenians, after a dispersion of many ages, were also restored by Epaminondas, and rebuilt and fortified the city, from which their ancestors had been driven by the Spartans. Thus was Sparta surrounded by many secret or declared enemies, who had felt, and therefore dreaded, her oppression; ever watchful to maintain their present liberty, and ever jealous of their ancient masters; who, on their part, regarded them as revolted subjects, and shewed sufficient inclination to reduce them to their former obedience. Hence arose a spirit of discontent and dissension among the inhabitants of

Sect. III.

Xenoph.
Hist. Graec.
Diod. Sic.
l. 15.

* In Arcad;

Diod. ut
supra.

Pe-

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Peloponnesus, which it was Philip's interest to foment, and from which he afterwards derived considerable advantage.

Olivier l. 3.
p. 114.

SUSPICION, stupidity, and bravery, formed the character of the Thebans. These qualities, united, frequently produced the most singular resolutions in that people: but, while Epaminondas was at their head, no defects appeared in their minds: this great man rendered them sovereigns of Boeotia, and arbiters of Greece. But with him their glory was extinguished. They retained only a brutal fierceness, and an inveterate hatred of their neighbours. The only general they had, after Epaminondas, was Pammenes, who, in his youth, had been attached to Philip by the strictest and tenderest friendship.

Ibid.

THE Phocians were naturally obstinate; and did not want valour. They were oftentimes unjust, and sometimes generous. Their minds were open; their genius sufficiently cultivated and elevated. Their misconduct involved them in calamities, which were attributed to their impiety, and, therefore, less pitied; yet, in these calamities, they discovered a remarkable firmness and greatness of soul. The most distinguished part of their character, was an unfurmount-

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surmountable antipathy to the [B] Thebans, SECT. III.
Locrians, and Thessalians, their nearest neighbours.

THE Thessalians were susceptible of all impressions, and incapable of preserving any; Olivier, ut supra.
equally forgetful of the good and evil which they received: ever ready to submit to tyrants, and to implore the succour of their neighbours against them. They now obeyed Tisiphonus, Lycophon, and Pitholaus, who had removed Alexander of Pherae, only to have an opportunity of continuing his injustices.

[B] Some particular causes of enmity seem to have lately arisen between Thebes and Phocis, and to have effaced the memory of that alliance which subsisted between them in the late war with Lacedemon. Justin (in l. 8. c. 1.) hints at some outrages and devastations committed by the Phocians in the territories of Boeotia; of which the Thebans complained in the council of Amphictyons, and which therefore seem to have been committed before any hostilities were declared, though that historian appears to be of a contrary opinion. And we learn from Athenaeus, (l. 13. p. 560) that Duris, an ancient historian, recorded one particular act of violence in the Phocians, some time since committed against Thebes. Theano, a Theban lady, was seized, and forcibly borne away from her husband, by some lawless inhabitants of Phocis: nor could the remonstrance made to that state prevail to have her restored. Such actions had, in ancient times, produced the bloodiest contests: and the historian above mentioned makes this particular outrage the real cause of the sacred war.

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L

THIS

Book I.

Plutarch. in
Pelop.

THIS Alexander was the most detestable tyrant that Greece ever knew. He had massacred, in cold blood, his father-in-law, his uncle, and a number of his subjects. Nor was he ever known to have discovered the least feelings of humanity, but at the representation of a tragedy of Euripides; from which he retired with shame and confusion, for being betrayed into tears, at the sight of imaginary misfortunes, after all the horrid cruelties which he himself had committed.

Ibid.

THEBÈ, the wife of this Alexander, quite tired out by his barbarity, and spirited up by the interviews which she had with Pelopidas, at the time when he had been seized and confined by Alexander, at last resolved upon his destruction. The execution was difficult: the tyrant's palace was always filled with his guards: and even in these he did not wholly confide. He lay in a high and retired chamber, to which he mounted by a ladder. This he drew up after him; and the passage was guarded by a furious mastiff, whom nobody dared to approach, but Alexander, his wife, and the slave who fed him.

Plut. in
Pelop.

THEBÈ concealed her brothers Tisiphonus, Lycophron, and Pitholaus, in the palace. And, at

at night, having come to the tyrant's apartment, ordered the slave, who had the care of the mastiff, to remove it, as it disturbed the king's rest. She then went down the ladder, which she had taken care to cover all over with wool to prevent the least noise; brought up her brothers, posted them at the door, and shewed them the sword of Alexander, which was the signal agreed on. Just at the point of execution, the youths began to hesitate; but Thebè threatened that she would awaken the tyrant; they resumed courage; one of them seized him by the feet, another by his hair, and the third buried a dagger in his heart.

SECT. III.

TISIPHONUS, Pitholaus, and Lycophron, were now regarded as the deliverers of their country. But they did not long appear solicitous to maintain this honour. Tempted by the splendour of a station, which their father Jason had possessed, they assumed the power, and, in a great measure, imitated the conduct of Alexander. They hired a large body of foreign troops to support their usurpation; and punished, or banished, all those who attempted to oppose them: until the nobility of Theffaly, with the Aleuadae descendents from Hercules, at their head, finding themselves oppressed by three tyrants instead of one, declared openly against them:

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 14.

and implored the assistance of Philip, now confessedly the greatest of all the neighbouring powers.

Nothing could have possibly been more flattering than this invitation. The honour of assisting the Aleuadae, who were descended from the same race with himself; and of imitating the renowned Pelopidas, in giving liberty to Thessaly; the long wished-for opportunity of interfering honourably in the affairs of Greece; of affecting a natural connexion with that nation, and appearing interested in the peace and liberty of its states; all conspired to determine Philip at once to suspend the progress of his Thracian conquests, and to march against the tyrants. Delighted with the prospect of displaying his power in the most honourable manner, and having first seized Larissa, according to Justin *, he advanced, with all his force, towards Pherae, situated between Magnesia and the Pelasgiotae, at a little distance from mount Pelion, which separates these provinces from Macedon. The tyrants, who had collected their army to oppose this invasion, met the Macedonians, and determined to try their fortune in the field. Here the abilities of Philip, and the superiour zeal and vigour of his soldiers, soon determined the fortune of the battle. The army of the tyrants

was

* l. 7. c. 6.

was totally defeated; and they themselves, pressed by a victorious enemy, and deserted by their adherents, were soon obliged to acknowledge the superiority of the conquerour, and to submit implicitly to his decisions. He now compelled them to resign their usurped authority, and to leave their country in peace and freedom: while all Greece resounded with the praises of the great protector and defender of liberty; the avenger of tyranny; and generous patron of the oppressed.

SECT. III.
Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

BUT renown and popular applause were not the only advantages which Philip derived from this expedition. The nobility of Thessaly imagined, that they never could sufficiently express their acknowledgments to their noble and humane deliverer; and, in the first heat and violence of a zealous gratitude, concluded a treaty with him, by which he was empowered to command all the conveniencies of their ports and shipping. Their cavalry was remarkably the best and most celebrated in Greece: and these were now obliged to attend him in all his wars. Such an acquisition only was wanted to render his forces complete: and he is said, by the abreviator * of Trogus, to have been prompted to this expedition by the hopes of obtaining it. In effect, Philip had too much penetration, not to

Dem. Phil.
1. sect. 10.
Tourreil.
Not. in
Phil. 1.
Olyath. 3.
sect. 9.

* Justin. l.
7. c. 6.

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* Strat. l. 4.
c. 19.

Tourreil.
Not. in
Olynth 1.

foresee all the good consequences of his undertaking; and too much vigilance and policy, not to secure them. His conduct in Thessaly, as it is described by Polyænus *, was the exact epitome of his whole system, and general course of his address and artifice. He watched the contentions in the several cities, with a strict and attentive regard; encouraged or allayed, fomented or decided, those quarrels which different opinions and attachments had produced among a distracted people, just as his own views and interests directed. He was so complete a master of dissimulation; he appeared so gentle, so humane, so affable, and obliging, so amiable, even to the conquered, that the Thessalians resigned themselves to him with a total confidence. Thus was he enabled to set himself up in the place of those he had subdued, not by open force, but by gentle and unsuspected, and not less effectual, methods.

Justin. ut
supra.

PHILIP was now returned to his own kingdom in all the pride of conquest; honoured, admired, and applauded; when Olympias, the young princess, whose charms had engaged his affections at Samothrace, was conducted, with all due magnificence, to his court, and their espousals were publicly celebrated. Neoptolemus, king of Epirus, the father of this princess, had lately

lately died, and was succeeded by his brother Arymbas (or Arybbas, as he is called by Pausanias and Justin). The better to secure the peaceable possession of his throne, he determined to unite, in his person, all the rights of his family, and married Troas, one of his nieces: and, to purchase the favour and alliance of a prince, whose reputation was become great and extensive, he now gratified Philip's passion for her sister Olympias. Sect. III.

THE queen of Macedon had beauty, spirit, and elevation. She appears to have at first loved her husband with sufficient tenderness; till the repeated instances of his unfaithfulness raised other sentiments in her mind. These could not but sufficiently affect her, although her resolution enabled her to conceal the impression for a while. She was at one time told of a beautiful Thessalian lady, called Philinnè, with whom Philip was said to have been desperately enamoured. In compliment to the queen, her courtiers affected to ascribe this to some charm or philtre, which forced the affections of the king from their proper object. Olympias desired to see her: and, finding that her beauty and graces far exceeded report, "Yes!" said she, "I now perceive what are the enchantments this fair Thessalian employs." Oliv. l. 3.
p. 124.

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Oliv. p. 125.
Solin.

THE nuptials of Philip and Olympias were celebrated with the utmost splendour. The superstitious observed, that a dramatic performance was exhibited, on this occasion, called the Cyclops; and that soon after Philip lost an eye. This loss was even said to have been occasioned by a jealous curiosity of prying into the conduct of his queen, who is accused thus early of unfaithfulness, with many fabulous and extravagant circumstances, calculated to make the birth of Alexander appear the more extraordinary. The ancient writers, indeed, imagined, that every thing, relating to this hero, should have an extraordinary and important appearance; and have taken care to furnish a series of dreams, prodigies, and predictions, all expressive of his future fortune, from the moment of Philip's nuptials, down to the birth of Alexander. Olympias is said to have dreamed, the night before the consummation of her marriage, that a thunderbolt fell upon her body, which kindled up a conflagration, whose flames dispersed and raged to a considerable extent, and were then extinguished. Philip also had his dream a little after, in which he fancied himself employed in sealing up the womb of his queen with a signet, whose impression was a lion. Some interpreted this, saith Plutarch *, as a warning to the king to watch over the behavi-

Plut. in
Alexand.

* in Alex.

our

our of his wife : but Aristander, his favourite interpreter of divinations, reflecting that it was not usual to seal up any thing that was empty, assured him that this dream denoted, that the queen had now conceived a son, who should hereafter prove bold and courageous as a lion.

Sect. III.

FLATTERY, and indulgence to the weakness of Alexander, who, when intoxicated with his successes, conceived the vanity of being thought the son of Jupiter, seem to have given rise to the fiction of an enormous serpent discovered by Philip in strict intercourse with his queen. The sight of a serpent in her bed, some of the ancients do not allow to have been so very extraordinary, in a country where they were tame and harmless; and as Olympias, who was remarkably devoted to the celebration of the enthusiastic rites of Orpheus and Bacchus, is said to have danced in these ceremonies with great tame serpents twining round her, sometimes interwoven with the ivy of the sacred spears, or with the chaplets of her attendants, in order to inspire spectators with the greater awe and horror. Yet, from henceforward, saith Plutarch, his affection sensibly abated; and, whether he feared her as a sorceress, or imagined that she held a commerce with some god, and was afraid of offending a superior rival, his correspondence with

See Bayle in
Art. *Olympias*.

Plutarch. in
Alexand.

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* l. 9. c. 9.
Plutarch. in
Alex.

Aul. Gel-
lius, l. 13.
c. 4.

with her became less frequent: and, having sent to consult the Delphian oracle on this alarming occasion, he received for answer, that he was to pay peculiar honours to Jupiter Ammon, and must expect to lose that eye, which had presumptuously intruded on the secret communication of a divinity with his wife. According to Justin *, Olympias herself first suggested the account of the serpent; and is said by Eratosthenes, an ancient historian, to have informed her son, as he was preparing for his expedition into Asia, of the secret of his birth. But this information was possibly nothing more than clearing up the suspicions of his legitimacy; and assuring him, that he was really the son of Philip, whose actions might, with all propriety, have been urged as an incitement to his son to approve himself worthy of so great a father. This sentiment seems to be confirmed by the well known answer of Olympias to her son's letter, in which he styled himself the son of Jupiter. For, when the queen complained, that Alexander *made mischief*, (if I may be allowed the expression) between her and Juno, I cannot conceive it in any other light, but that of rail- lery on his fantastical vanity [c].

[c] So Gellius understood it.—*Olympiadem FESTIVISSIME rescripsisse legimus—Amabo mi fili quiescas, neque deferas me,*

THE present nuptials seemed to have entirely engaged the court of Macedon, which now became a scene of general pleasure and festivity, in honour of the royal lovers. The secret and avowed enemies of Philip thought this a favourable opportunity to attempt the recovery of that power, and those dominions, which his arms had won from them; and, by one sudden and united effort, to crush his rising greatness. The kings of Illyria, of Paeonia, and of Thrace, joined in a strict confederacy, and meditated an invasion of Macedon with all their powers. Their scheme was artfully conceived, conducted with all secrecy, and had the fairest prospect of

SECT. III.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16. sect.
22.

me, neque criminere adversus Junonem, l. 13. c. 4. But, though Bayle allows that this has an air of raillery, yet he does not admit, that it warrants us to suppose, that Olympias denied any connexions with Jupiter, or intended to discredit any such reports; but only would persuade her son not to boast publicly of his birth. The terms, saith he, which Plutarch makes use of, signify no more, than that she recommends it to her son to be silent. (See Bayle Dict. Hist. in Art *Olympias*.) The words to which he refers, and which Plutarch ascribes to her, are these: Οὐ πανοῦλας με διαβαλλῶνι Ἀλεξάνδρος πρὸς τὴν Ἥραν; which the Latin interpreter renders *non desinet Alexander in crimen me apud Junonem vocare?* But διαβαλλῶν, διαβολή, and ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ, are Greek words generally agreed to relate, not so properly, or, at least, not so usually, to accusations founded on truth: but to express something of malice, or falsehood, in the action or person, not barely of indiscretion.

success.

success. But, in the midst of all his gaiety, Philip's attention was not a moment diverted from his more important concerns. Among all the neighbouring nations he had his spies and emissaries, studious to merit his liberal pay by their vigilance, who never failed to inform him faithfully, and minutely, of every motion and transaction, by which he might be affected. While these new allies, therefore, were yet employed in making their preparations, Philip ordered Parmenio, the general in whom he most confided, to march into Illyria, while he himself surprised the Paeonians, and reduced them to such a state of subjection, as appears to have rendered them incapable of giving him any farther opposition: (for, from this time, history makes no mention of any attempt to recover their independence.) Hence he marched into Thrace, to confound the schemes of his enemies, and to chastise their designs against his peace. Here, while engaged in spreading the terrour of his arms, he received the pleasing news of a victory, gained by Parmenio over the Illyrians. His couriers, at the same time, arrived to inform him, that the chariots, which he had sent to the Olympic games, had obtained the prize. Proud of this event, the most authentic proof of his being acknowledged a true and legitimate son of Greece,

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Greece, he determined to preserve the memorial of it, by impressing those victorious chariots on his coins. But, scarcely had these joyful advices been received, when another, of still greater moment, was now brought to Philip, that his queen was delivered of a son at Pella. A prince, born in the midst of such joy and success, his diviners assured him, must necessarily prove invincible; and the king, deeply affected by these instances of good fortune, breathed out his prayer in rapture, that the gods should send him some misfortune to temper all his accumulated happiness.

Plutarch.
Apophth.

THE most accurate chronologers fix the birth of Alexander to the first year of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, in the month called by the Macedonians Loüs, which, at this time, answered not to the Attic month Hecatombæon, as Plutarch asserts, but to Boedromion, the third of the Attic year, as appears from a letter of king Philip, preserved in the oration * of Demosthenes on the crown. Nor can we agree with Plutarch in fixing it to the time of the reduction of Potidaea, without contradicting, not only Demosthenes †, but Diodorus ‡, who is most accurate in his chronology; and expressly determines the taking of that city to the third year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad. An-

Plin. l. 36.
C. 14.
Euseb. Cap-
pel.

* sect. 51.

† in Orat.
Lept.
‡ lib. 16.
sect. 3.

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Mela, 2, 3.
 Serv. in
 Virg. Georg.
 4. 278.

Plutarch. in
 Alexand.

tiquity hath been careful to furnish his birth with a number of presages and omens of his greatness. Thunderings, and lightnings, and earthquakes, were said to have announced this extraordinary event; and two eagles, by perching on the palace in which his mother lay, to have foretold his future empire over Europe and Asia. But his birth was really attended by one incident, which may, with some appearance of propriety, be called a presage of his future actions. On that very day, in which he first saw the light, Erostratus, (for historians name him, notwithstanding the decree of the Ephesians to forbid it) set fire to the temple of Diana at Ephesus, from the sole motive of immortalizing his name. And this accident seemed so expressive of the character of Alexander, that, possibly, the imagination of historians invented the relation which Plutarch gives us, that the priests and diviners at Ephesus, looked on the ruin of their temple as the forerunner of some other terrible calamity; and ran frantic through the city, crying out, "This day hath brought forth something, which will prove destructive to all Asia."

THE famous letter, which Philip now wrote to Aristotle, must not be omitted in this place.

The

The king had always affected an extraordinary reverence for this philosopher; and condescended even to attend with deference to his precepts of morality, and maxims of government. On the present joyful occasion, he expressed his sense of the sage's merit, and of the importance of making the earliest and most effectual provision for the future instruction of his infant son, by addressing the following letter to Aristotle:

SECT. III.

Aristot.
Epist. in
Fragment.
Ælian. l. 8.
c. 15.

“ King Philip, to Aristotle. Health !

Arist. ut
supra.

“ **Y**OU are to know, that a son hath been
“ born to us. We thank the gods, not so
“ much for having bestowed him on us, as for
“ bestowing him at a time when Aristotle lives.
“ We assure ourselves, that you will form him
“ a prince worthy to be our successor, and a
“ king worthy of Macedon. Farewel !”

SUCH instances of his respectful attention to men of learning have made historians speak in the highest terms of his greatness of mind, and justness of sentiment. Nor could they have failed to raise his reputation in Greece, where philosophy was held in such veneration, and accounted one of those honourable distinctions, which marked out the superiority of that nation over the barbarian world. Nor can it seem im-
probable

Book I.

probable to those who consider the character of this prince, that a politic regard to his reputation might have had as great a share in these condescensions, as his real sense of the value and dignity of those men, who devoted themselves to the study and propagation of knowledge.

* *Act. 6.*

Justin, l. 8.
c. 6. l. 17.
c. 3.
Tourell.
Not. in
Olyn. 3.
Rollin Hist.
de Philippe.

THE birth of Alexander was an event which might naturally have been expected to cement the union between Macedon and Epirus: and yet it seems probable, from a passage in the third Olynthiac * oration of Demosthenes, where the orator traces the progress of Philip's conquests, that, about this time, he committed some hostilities against Arymbas, either to punish some secret practices, into which this prince's jealousy of Philip might have betrayed him, in favour of the late attempts of Illyria and Paconia; or to gratify Alexander, the brother of Olympias, by dismembering the kingdom of Epirus, in order to invest him with some of its dominions. History speaks but obscurely of his conduct with respect to this prince, and the affairs of Epirus; and sometimes with apparent inconsistency, which hath occasioned a difference in the representations of modern critics and compilers. But to discuss these particularly might lead us too far from the principal subject:

nor

nor is it necessary to the understanding the general tenour of this history. SECT. III.

To Thrace we now return, where Philip was at leisure to pursue his advantages; to attend to the contests and distractions of the native inhabitants, and to the motions of the Athenians, whose ancient valour had here gained some settlements, which, by their misconduct, were now either lost, or rendered precarious; and who made such efforts to regain them, as their corruptions or embarrassments could admit; and watched and thwarted the attempts of Philip with an impotent jealousy. This prince, who knew the importance of gaining an extensive power and interest in this country, the source of wealth and commerce, the magazine from whence Greece was supplied with many of the necessaries and conveniencies of life, advanced as far as Maronea, where he was joined by Pammenes the Theban, with a considerable reinforcement, sent to favour the attempts of the enemy of Athens. He held a private correspondence with Charidemus, and might have completed the conquest of this country, had he not been opposed by Amadocus, assisted by the Athenians, with whom good policy did not as yet permit him to come to an avowed rupture. Diffensions and contests were arising among the

Demost. in
Aristocr.

Book I.

Grecians: many of whom any open and violent attack on a principal state might have quieted and united. An affected regard to his treaty, a patience even of some hostilities and insults, might give an appearance of self defence, or justifiable revenge to any hostilities, which he might hereafter find it convenient to commit, while his enemies were loaded with the odium of being the first and unprovoked aggressors. A fatal mixture of strong national vanity and degeneracy, which prevailed at Athens, was every day rendering that state less formidable and powerful, and encouraged their enemy to wait till their capricious and violent passions had totally wasted their strength.

THESE had already operated in a manner which must have been highly pleasing to Philip, by depriving them of the service of two illustrious generals, Iphicrates and Timotheus. When Chabrias fell (as hath been related) in the social war, the confederates laid siege to Samos, with all their force, which amounted to one hundred ships. The Athenian navy, commanded by Chares, the undeserving favourite of the popular assembly, consisted but of sixty. As it was therefore necessary to relieve a place, which had ever been firmly attached to them, and, as they were also alarmed by Philip's progress, another fleet

PHILIP KING OF MACEDON.

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Fleet of equal force was fitted out, and entrusted to the command of Menestheus, the son of Iphicrates, and son-in-law to Timotheus, with instructions that he should conduct himself entirely by the advice of these two great men, who embarked with him. Upon the junction of the two fleets, it was agreed to make a diversion, by laying siege to Byzantium, one of the principal cities in the confederacy. The allies abandoned the siege of Samos, and the two fleets were upon the point of an engagement, when a sudden storm arose. Chares confidently proposed to begin the attack: but Timotheus and Iphicrates, more cautious and experienced, saw the disadvantage, and declined the engagement. For this they were accused by Chares of cowardice, and neglect of duty. Their countrymen, impatient of every disappointment which did violence to their prejudices and exalted notions of their own power and importance, recalled these commanders, and brought them to a trial. Timotheus relied entirely on his integrity: but Iphicrates thought himself obliged to use some artifice for his preservation. He dispersed certain young officers through the assembly, who were at his devotion, armed privately with swords, which, as if by accident, they took occasion to discover. The judges were intimidated, and; instead of condemning to death,

SECT. III.

Nep. in Timoth.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 24.
Nep. in.
Iphic. &
Timoth.

BOOK I.

as was originally intended, imposed a fine on them, which both the one and the other was utterly unable to pay. And thus these two commanders, of the most distinguished merit and abilities, were driven disgracefully from their country, to languish out their lives in an inactive exile, at a time when Athens required all their services.

Oliv. l. 3.
p. 103.

NOR was it less fatal to the interests of the Athenians, or less pleasing or promising to their enemy, that Chares now became the principal commander of their fleets. He was a man possessed of all the exterior of merit, without real and intrinsic abilities. His person was robust and vigorous; his address haughty and assuming; his presumption not only imposed on his fellow-citizens, but concealed his incapacity even from himself. His insatiable avarice rendered him intolerable to the allies, and dependents of Athens, whom he plundered with a cruelty and rapaciousness more becoming an enemy than a protector. They dreaded his inhumanity, and despised the weakness of a general, who came attended by singers, dancers, harlots, and other like infamous attendants on luxury; and who recommended himself to the favour of his officers, by indulging them in an

Athenae.
l. 12.
p. 534.

absolute contempt of all discipline and regularity befitting a military life. But his fellow-citizens could not divest themselves of their prejudices in favour of a man, who asserted positively, and promised boldly; and who had his orators and popular leaders constantly in pay, to defend or palliate every instance of his misconduct. By intrigue and cabal he had been raised; on these he depended for his support; nor was inclined or enabled to execute any enterprize of honour or importance. Such was the consequence of the indolence and the scandalous profusion of the public money at Athens, that the fleet was entirely forgotten, and the commander reduced to the utmost difficulty for the support of his soldiers. At least such was the pretence by which Chares concealed his avarice, and neglect of his commission, in deserting the war, which had been entrusted to him, and hiring himself, and his forces, to Artabazus, a revolted satrap of Ionia, who had occasion for immediate assistance against a large body of Persians sent to reduce him to obedience. He relieved him from his danger, and returned with magnificent presents, and all manner of provisions and necessaries for his fleet.

SECT. III.

Demost.
Phil. 1.
sect. 9.
Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 22.

THE Athenians, who saw their navy thus provided, without any burden to themselves,

BOOK I.

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

or any necessity of retrenching those expences which were lavishly bestowed upon their pleasures, listened willingly to those who defended the conduct of Chares, and urged the necessities which were said to have driven him to this measure; and, without any great difficulty, were persuaded to approve of his expedition into Asia. But they were soon made to think of this affair in a different manner. Ambassadors arrived with formidable remonstrances from the king of Persia; who declared, that, in revenge of this their outrage, he had three hundred ships ready to be sent out to the assistance of the allied cities. Intimidated by these menaces, the Athenians instantly concluded a peace with the confederates, who were declared entirely independent, and exempted from all subsidies, and from furnishing their contingents in the wars of Athens. Thus the terrour of the Persian power had more effect in the Athenian assembly, than the dictates of equity and moderation, which their ingenuous and honest citizen, [D] Isocrates, had

[D] The discourse which he addressed to his fellow-citizens for this purpose is still extant. In it we find him reproaching them, with great freedom, for abandoning themselves to the insinuations of those orators who flatter their passions, while they treat those with contempt, who give them the most salutary counsels. He particularly applies himself to correct their violent passion for the augmentation of

had urged, with all his candid eloquence, to persuade them to this measure: and thus the social war, which had continued for three years to harass the Athenians, and had been one cause of the weak and ineffectual interruption which they had given to Philip's earlier designs, was now concluded. SECT. III.

of their power and dominion over the people of Greece, which had been the source of all their misfortunes. He recalls to their remembrance those happy days, so glorious for Athens, in which their ancestors, from a noble and generous disinterestedness, sacrificed every thing to the support of the common liberty, and the preservation of Greece; and compares them with the present times, wherein the ambition of Sparta, and afterwards that of Athens, had, successively, plunged those states in the greatest misfortunes. He represents to them, that the real and lasting greatness of a state, doth not consist in augmenting its dominions, and extending its conquests, at the expence of humanity and justice; but in the wise government of the people, a just attention to their happiness, and to the protection of their allies; in being beloved and esteemed by their neighbours, and feared by their enemies.—The whole piece expresses a mind possessed with the warmest sentiments of benevolence, and a most moderate and equitable regard to the common rights of mankind; together with a just contempt of false greatness, the fatal object of the heroes and ravagers of the world. He concludes, that Athens, if it would preserve its happiness and tranquillity, ought not to affect the empire of the sea, for the sake of lording it over all other states; but should conclude a peace, whereby every city and people should be left to the full enjoyment of their liberty; and declare themselves irreconcilable enemies to those, who should presume to disturb this system.

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had never, and all the candid historians, to
believe them to be true; and that the
local men, who had continued for three years
to fight the battles, and had seen one cause
of the war and another intervention which
they had never to Philip's earlier feelings, was
newly considered.

of their power and influence over the people of Greece
which had been the cause of their ruin. He re-
all to their remembrance and advice that to glorify
for them, in which their recollections, from a noble and ge-
nerous of a father, had been a very large to the sup-
port of the commonwealth, and the preservation of Greece,
and compare them with the present times, when the an-
dition of Sparta, and the wars, that of Athens, had,
happily, plunged those states in the greatest misfortune.
He repeated to them that the real and lasting greatness
of a state, both in civil and in war, is not in the dominion
and extending its empire, as the extent of humanity
and justice, but in the state government of the people,
and in the state of the people, and in the position of
their allies, in being loved and esteemed by their neigh-
bours, and feared by their enemies. He also said that ex-
posed a mind, affected with the warmest feelings of be-
nevolence, and a most generous and upright regard to
the common rights of mankind, together with a just con-
sideration of the present, the last object of his mission, and
the state of the world. He concluded, that Athens, if it
would preserve its spirit, and its strength, and its
rich resources of the sea, for the sea, and the sea,
all other nations, but that Athens, and Athens, and Athens,
and people, should be in the sea, and the sea, and the sea,
and the sea, and the sea, and the sea, and the sea, and the sea,
and the sea, and the sea, and the sea, and the sea, and the sea,

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HISTORY
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OF
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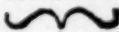
THE
LIFE AND REIGN
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P H I L I P
KING OF MACEDON.

BOOK THE SECOND.

SECTION I.

THE Athenians were now recovering from the alarm occasioned by the menaces of the king of Persia, and, being relieved from the burden of the late war with the confederates, were principally attentive to the motions and designs of Philip; when the violence of mutual jealousy and animosity burst forth suddenly in Greece; and the several states conspired to favour the designs of the great enemy of their liberty,

BOOK II.
SECT. I.



Book II. liberty, and to precipitate their own ruin, by
 Olymp. 106. arming against each other in the famous SACRED
 Y. 2. WAR.

THE Theban interest had been, for some time, predominant in the great Amphictyonic council: and that venerable assembly, formed originally to support the general interest of the whole Hellenic body, now shared so largely in the corruption and degeneracy of the time, that it was totally guided and directed by some one ruling power, and servilely echoed the dictates of the revenge or ambition of that state, which could most effectually influence and corrupt its members. The authority which the Thebans acquired in this assembly, in consequence of their late successes, they soon determined to exert against those whom they secretly or avowedly hated: and Phocis and Lacedaemon were the destined victims of their pride and oppression. The first of these states had been accused of occupying and cultivating some lands situated on the banks of the Cephissus, to the east of Mount Parnassus, which the religion of ancient times had consecrated to Apollo, and, of consequence, consigned to perpetual desolation. A large fine was imposed on them by the Amphictyons, the guardians of religion and the rights of the god. At the same time, the Thebans, not contented with

Diod. Sic. l.
26. sect. 23.

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SECT. I.

with the revenge which their arms had executed in Sparta, prevailed upon the council to take cognizance of the conduct of Phoebidas, and to condemn the Lacedaemonians in a fine of fifty talents, for their breach of public faith, and violation of the general peace of Greece, in seizing the citadel of Thebes. The two states, affected by these sentences, were by no means ready to pay the due deference to such severe decisions; and possibly the Amphictyons themselves were not very zealous to enforce the execution of their decrees; till, again solicited by the Thebans, the council, at length, resolved, that the Phocians should instantly comply, and pay their fine, on pain of being stripped of all the fruits of their sacrilege: and that the Lacedaemonians also should, without delay, submit to the authority of the general council, and make the appointed atonement for their crime; or, in case of a refusal, be regarded and treated as rebellious against the sovereign power of the Amphictyons, and as the enemies of Greece.

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

THE Phocians, who were pursued with the greatest zeal, as the most odious and criminal party, were thus on the point of having all the advantages, which the labour and industry of years had with difficulty procured, at once wrested from them; and many of themselves and families exposed

exposed to want and distress; driven from the lands and habitations they had long occupied, and deprived of the means of subsistence. Murmurs and complaints arose naturally among a people of spirit to express their indignation at this extreme severity. Nor did they want turbulent and designing men, to inflame their discontents, and aggravate their grievances. Philomelus, one of the most considerable members of their community, was a man possessed of all the qualifications necessary to recommend him to the popular favour. He had that insinuating eloquence, which at once seizes the attention, and engages the affections. Under the appearance of a tender regard for the welfare of his fellow-citizens, he concealed a turbulent and violent ambition, which his daring soul prompted him to gratify at the expence of dangers and toils, and in defiance of justice, and of all those rights, which the general opinion and principles of mankind had sanctified. This man now assembled the Phocians, and, in an artful harangue, exerted all his address to lead them to his purposes.

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

HE began with declaring, that, gallant and courageous as they were, he could not in the least suspect that they would submit to the unjust sentence of the Amphictyons; and, by paying

ing the fine required, brand themselves and their country with an ignominious stain, which no time ever could efface : but that, if their spirit was really lost, if they were determined to submit to the arbitrary decisions of their enemies, still the sum demanded far exceeded their abilities. He expatiated on the injustice and cruelty of the Amphictyonic decree, which had imposed a fine so enormous, on account of a small portion of land, which their necessities had forced them to occupy. If they could be so patient as to suffer this land to be taken from them, and united to the ancient patrimony of the god, besides the disgrace of a submission so abject and dastardly, the loss of their liberty, the utter destruction of their properties, and their lives, he declared must prove the inevitable consequence. All the fatal effects of the cruelty of their enemies he knew how to represent in the most lively colours, and to inflame the imaginations of his hearers with affecting pictures of the future distress of his dear fellow-citizens. One way yet remained to obviate all these melancholy consequences. If they would entrust him with the command of their army; if they would resign themselves absolutely to his direction, he made no doubt of proving sufficient to extricate them from the present difficulties, and to assert their

Book II.

ancient dignity and privileges. To them, and to them alone, had been entrusted the temple and the oracle of Delphi in ancient times; their ancestors were acknowledged as absolute proprietors of the whole city and all its territories. Hear, said he, the testimony of Homer, the venerable and authentic recorder of the ancient glory of Greece, and of all the rights of its several inhabitants:

[A] The PHOCIANS next in forty barks repair;
Epistrophus and Schedius head the war;
From those rich regions, where Cephissus leads,
Her silver current thro' the flow'ry meads:
From Panopœa, Chrysa the divine,
Where Anemoria's stately turrets shine;
Where PYTHO*, Daulis, Cyparissus stood.—

* The ancient name
of Delphi.

POP.

Let us then boldly draw the sword, and assert
the honours of our fathers, and the rights of
their posterity.

THESE artful representations had the desired
effect: the Phocians created Philomelus their
general, with full powers to conduct them as

[A] Αὐτὰρ ΦΩΚΕΩΝ Σχέδιος μὲν Ἐπιστροφὸς ἦρχον —
Οἱ Κυπαρίσσου ἔχον ΠΥΘΩΝΑ τε Πιττηίδα τε, &c.

HESIOD. B. I. 516.

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he thought proper: and he proceeded to concert the necessary means of answering the expectations of his countrymen. He began with making a journey to Sparta, where he had a private conference with king Archidamus. He represented to this prince, that the interest of Sparta was no less concerned than that of Phocis, in rescinding the late decrees of the Amphictyons. He discovered his scheme of seizing Delphi, with assurances, that his first care should be to efface all the memorials of the disgrace of their two states; and desired the assistance of the Spartans, in a cause, in which they and the Phocians were equally concerned. Archidamus was pleased with a design formed against the enemies of Sparta, and sensible of the advantages which that state might derive from its success; yet, being duly affected by the odiousness and danger of it, and too cautious to commence or to join in this hazardous war, till the effects of the first bold experiment had appeared, and the other leading states had discovered their dispositions, declared to Philomelus, that he fully approved of his plan; and that, although it was not at present convenient openly to avow his attachment to the Phocians, yet that he might depend on some private reinforcements, besides supplies of money. To evince the sincerity of these declarations, he accompanied

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

Book II.

them with a present of fifteen talents, to which Philomelus added the same sum of his own; and thus was enabled to raise a large body of mercenary troops, who were encouraged to crowd to his standard by the liberality with which he paid them.

Diod. l. 16.
sect. 24.

THE army he had thus collected he proceeded to model; and, in imitation of other great generals and masters of the art of war, incorporated a thousand chosen Phocians into one distinct body, whom he called Πελταςαι, his targeteers; and, having thus provided for the execution of his designs, he appeared at the head of his forces, and directed his march to Delphi. Certain inhabitants of the neighbouring district, called Thracidae, attempted, in vain, to oppose his entrance into the city. They were defeated, and cut to pieces, and their possessions given up to the will of a rapacious soldiery. The Delphians trembled in expectation of the like fate; but Philomelus quieted their apprehensions, by assuring them that he entertained no hostile intentions against their city; no sacrilegious designs against their temple: he came but to assert the just rights of his country to the guardianship thereof, and should ever preserve a due reverence to the god, and an exact attention to the welfare of his votaries. And thus this enterprising

prising chief gained possession of the city, and assumed the custody of the temple, with all its immense riches [B].

SECT. I.

THE Amphictyons, on their part, could not behold this outrageous opposition to their authority, which they affected to consider as a violence to all rights divine and human, without the utmost emotion. By a formal decree, they pronounced these profane Phocians enemies to Heaven and to Greece; and invited all those who acknowledged their sovereign authority, and who retained a regard for religion, to draw the sword against sacrilege, and so to discharge

[B] THE marbles of Paros fix the commencement of the Phocian war to the archonship of Cephisodotus, the third year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad: which was probably the date of the decree of the Amphictyons, which produced it. We know, besides, from Æschines, Demosthenes, and Pausanias, that it lasted ten years. The last mentioned author places the invasion of the temple under the archonship of Agathocles, the fourth year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad. Thus then we may reconcile those different authorities with Diodorus.

The decree of the Amphictyons, under Cephisodotus.

The speech of Philomelus, and the insurrection of the Phocians, under Agathocles.

The journey of Philomelus to Sparta, in the archonship of Elphines. Olymp. 106. Y. 1.

The seizing of Delphi, under Callistratus. Olymp. 106. Y. 2.

OLIVIER.

Book II.

those sacred obligations, which they owed to their country and to Heaven.

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

THE Locrians, who inhabited the neighbourhood of Delphi, were the first to express their zeal, by rising suddenly in arms to attack Philomelus. But this chief found no difficulty in defeating a tumultuary body, that fought with more valour than discipline. Encouraged by this victory, which seemed a presage of future success, he returned in triumph into the city; tore down the records of the Amphictyonic decree from the pillars to which they were affixed; destroyed the brazen tablets on which the sentences against Sparta and Phocis were inscribed; and dispersed his declaration through Greece, that he had possessed himself of the temple, not with a design of violating the rights of Apollo, but only to rescind the unjust and oppressive decrees of the Amphictyons; and to assert the ancient prerogative of the Phocians, which his countrymen justly considered as the most valuable inheritance their ancestors had transmitted to them.

THE Boeotians, with the Thebans at their head, influenced by private animosity, as Pausanias † expressly observes, much more than by the nobler motive of religion, soon imitated the example of the Locrians, and raised considerable levies

† In Phoc.

levies for the relief of the temple, and to avenge the majesty of the offended deity. Philomelus, informed of these motions, surrounds the temple with a strong fortification, so as to render it a kind of citadel to the town; collects new forces from all the adjacent districts; augments the pay of his mercenary troops; encamps before Delphi with five thousand chosen men; and thus becomes no less formidable to Thebes, than Thebes could possibly appear to Phocis. His enemies had not yet appeared; he therefore determined to intimidate them by an instance of vigour; and having left a sufficient body to guard the avenues to the city, marched down against the Locrians, and ravaged their territories. This people were soon obliged to arm in defence of their lands, and found the Phocian general besieging a fortress on the banks of one of their rivers. The strength of its situation had checked the progress of his arms; and he now found himself obliged to abandon the siege, and to march against his assailants. An engagement immediately ensued, in which twenty of the Phocians fell. The contest for their bodies, according to the custom of the ancient Greeks, was violent and obstinate: but the Locrians at length prevailed, and obliged Philomelus to send an herald to demand them. The enemy answered, with severity, that, by the laws of

SECT. I.

Diod. Sic.

l. 16. sect.

25.

Book II.

Greece, sacrilegious persons were denied the rites of interment. Philomelus, provoked at their refusal, and still more irritated and alarmed at the harsh reason on which they founded it, once more led out his forces, renewed the engagement, and, remaining master of the field of battle, obliged the Locrians to exchange the dead. Thus, with a large accession both of wealth and reputation, he returned to Delphi.

He knew of what consequence it must necessarily be to remove the odious appearance of impiety by which his cause was disgraced; and therefore determined, if possible, to obtain some oracle, which he might interpret as a sanction to his attempts. For this purpose he applied to the Pythian priestess; and commanded her instantly to ascend her sacred tripod, and to declare the will of the god, and the event of the present war. The priestess, either dreading her danger, or from a regard to the ceremonials of her religion, represented to him, that the god could not be consulted but [c] at certain stated times,

Diod. Sic.
l. 16. sect.
27.

[c] It may not be displeasing to the reader, to have some account of those times and preparatory rites laid before him. For which purpose I take the liberty of making use of the accurate and copious collection from ancient authors, by Monsieur Hardouin, in his dissertation on the oracle of Delphi,

times, and after all the preparatory rites and sacrifices regularly and exactly performed. Philomelus,

Delphi, published in the memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres. Tom. 3.

In the earlier times of the oracle, the Pythian priestess was inspired but once in a year, in the month which the inhabitants of Delphi called *Bucior*, which was the first month in the Spring, called *Bucior* for *Πύριον* formed from the word *πύριον*, to enquire or interrogate. Afterwards, Apollo was prevailed on to inspire the priestess once in every month. But the precise day was by no means an article of an indifferent nature. Some days were stiled *ἀνοσφάδεις*, nefasti, *unlucky days*, on which it was absolutely forbidden to consult the oracle. We do not know, precisely, whether the day of consultation in every month was fixed and determined, or whether the priests had the liberty of chusing it. We only know, that the Pythian priestess never mounted her tripod but on one day in the month, and that the other days were employed in preparing every thing necessary for this ceremony. Sacrifices made a principal part of this preparation: without the due performance of these, the god was deaf, and the priestess mute. The utmost care was taken, that the victims should be found pure, without spot or blemish. When they received the effusions of wine, or water, they were to tremble, and feel an universal palpitation in all parts of their body, without which propitious signs, the priestess could not presume to do her office. She herself was also obliged to a particular preparation. She began with an abstinence of three days, which greatly increased the disorder of her mind. On the day of consultation, she bathed in the fountain of Castalia, and drank a certain quantity of its water, to which Apollo had communicated a portion of his enthusiastic virtue. She then chewed some leaves of laurel that grew near this fountain.

Book II.

Ismelus, influenced only by political regards, insisted on his demand, and declared his resolution of forcing her to do her office. The priestess cried out, in indignation at his violence, that he commanded there, and might act as he pleased. This answer he pretended to regard as the effect of enthusiasm, and the genuine dictate of Apollo. It was instantly published through his army; it was engraved on a brazen tablet, and exposed to public view, that all men might know that the god had granted him permission to act as he thought proper; and, having convened his people, he declared and interpreted this pretended oracle, and earnestly recommended to them to adhere firmly to a cause, which Apollo himself had sanctified by his approbation.

Diod. Sic. l.
16. sect. 27.

To the affairs of war, he again began to apply with due vigour; but, at the same time, took care to provide his people with a prodigy, in order to animate them still further. An eagle was

seen. This laurel was the symbol of divination; and no small assistance to enthusiasm. The priestess being thus prepared, Apollo did not fail to give notice of his approach. A laurel, which grew before the portal of the temple, by its motion, announced the god. The temple itself was shaken; at least, the priestess felt the presence of the deity; and then her attendants conducted her, with all due solemnity, to the sanctuary, and placed her on the sacred tripod.

seen

seen to hover round the temple, then to enter in, and to pursue some doves that were bred there, with such violence, that some of them he killed at the altar. Diviners were found to pronounce this to be an omen, which promised the sovereign power of Delphi to Philomelus and his Phocians. The event was capable of a different application; yet the present interpretation, purchased no doubt by corruption and intrigue, was eagerly received, and industriously propagated, to serve the present purposes of the Phocian general; who, while he thus wrought on the ignorance and superstition of his followers, was, at the same time, attentive to the more important means of assuring his success. He chose out those of his followers, who seemed best qualified for negotiation, some of whom he dispatched to Athens, others to Lacedaemon, and others even to Thebes. In like manner he applied to the other considerable states of Greece; and gave them all the most solemn assurances of the rectitude of his intentions. He repeated his declarations, that the sole motive of possessing himself of Delphi was to assert the right of Phocis to the patronage of the temple; that he abhorred the thought of sacrilege, and was determined to preserve the treasures of Apollo inviolably; that he was ready to render an account to Greece of all the gold and silver, all the rich
and

Book II.

and magnificent offerings, their weight, number, and condition, with an exactness which should demonstrate the justice of his cause, and the sincerity of his intentions; and concluded with entreating, that they would divest themselves of those unwarrantable prejudices conceived against him; acknowledge the justice of his procedure, and unite their arms with Phocis; or, at least, continue neuter in a war, by which the public interests of Greece, either civil or religious, were by no means affected.

Demost. de
falsa Leg.
sect. 22. cum
Schol.

THE chief attention of the Athenians was at present to the actions and designs of Philip, who was now engaged in Thrace, where he was ever labouring to gain some new acquisitions, either by force or intrigue. Their arms were wholly employed in some indirect and weak efforts to oppose or harass him; and were no longer professedly engaged in any important quarrel. They remembered, with gratitude, that Phocis had expressed a regard for Athens in its state of depression at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war: they looked with indignation at the arrogance with which their late successes had inspired the Thebans; they harboured a warm resentment of every instance of opposition or enmity that had appeared in Thebes through the course of the Grecian contests; they hated and determined

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mined to oppose any people who presumed to appear as their competitors for sovereign power; and, in such dispositions, received the ambassadors of Philomelus with the utmost favour; and, by a formal decree, entered into a strict mutual engagement and alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Phocians, whom they affected to consider as men driven to extremities by the tyranny and oppression of their enemies.

SECT. I.

Diod. Sic. l.
16. sect. 26.

THE Lacedaemonians also had particular reasons for listening to the overtures, and espousing the cause, of Philomelus. The Amphictyons, as hath been already observed, had condemned them in a fine of five hundred talents to be paid to Thebes. As this sum was not paid at the appointed time, the penalty was doubled by a subsequent decree of the great council, and no less than one thousand talents was imposed on the Lacedaemonians: a sum, which, exorbitant as it was, they must necessarily pay, or be exposed to all the rigour of the general laws of Greece. To recur to the same pretence which the Phocians had used, and to cry out loudly against the injustice of the decree, seemed the only means of eluding the blow. But remonstrances, however violently urged, could have no effect, unless seconded by arms, and supported by an appearance of warlike power. And then,

Ibid.

500 talents
500 would be
more -

to

Book II.

to take up arms in the character of men condemned by the council of Greece, would be to expose themselves to all the weight of popular odium and indignation. If, on the contrary, they appeared only as assistants to the Phocians, they might obtain their grand point in a manner apparently more honourable. All the odiousness of rebellion would fall on those who had been the first to take up arms; while the Lacedaemonians would be supposed to act only from pity to their friends, who were driven to the very brink of ruin.

* Lib. 16.
sect. 26.

THESE are the motives to which * Diodorus ascribes the present conduct of Lacedaemon. And, from the character of Archidamus, a subtle, penetrating, and designing prince, strictly attentive to every event from which he might derive advantage to his country, and indefatigable in projecting the means of recovering its ancient splendour, we may probably conclude, that, in engaging to assist the Phocians, he was influenced by another particular view of interest. The Lacedaemonians, as there will be hereafter occasion to observe, had themselves an ancient claim to the possession and patronage of the Delphian temple; he therefore readily favoured an attempt to wrest it from the late possessors. The Phocians, by disputing their

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their right, deprived it of the reverence paid to a long undisturbed possession; and when they were so far weakened, as to be no longer able to support their pretensions, he might then, with more ease, and less odium, assert those of his own country.

SECT. II.

OTHER states of less moment were also found, who, from their connexions, passions, or interests, favoured the cause of Phocis. But, at Thebes the ambassadors of Philomelus were received with indignation; and warned to expect nothing but hostilities and just resentment. The Thebans freely declared, that they were arming against the Phocians to avenge the majesty of the deity, whom this people had offended by their sacrilegious enterprize. The Locrians, Thessalians, Perrhibaeans, Dorians, Dolopians, Athamantians, Achaeans, Phthiotes, Magnetes, Aenians, and some others, influenced either by their attachments to Boeotia, their ancient animosities to Phocis, or the popular motives of religion, and veneration for the temple, all united against Philomelus and his adherents. And thus this quarrel, at first seemingly inconsiderable, became gradually to appear important and alarming: and divided all Greece with the greater animosity, as their passions and interests had

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 27, 29.

BOOK II. had the specious shew of religion to disguise them, and to sanctify their most bloody consequences.

It doth not appear, that Philip was as yet invited, by either party, to share in this dispute: but a prince of his consummate policy could not have regarded it with indifference: and, although he had no prospect of immediate advantage from it, yet, by his conduct, he seems to have duly weighed its remote consequences, and, from the beginning of this fatal contest, to have justly considered it as the foundation of his future greatness. He looked on with secret satisfaction, while these people rushed to war with an inconsiderate fury, which rendered them blind to their real danger; and waited till they should exhaust and weaken each other, so as to enable him to attack them all with greater advantage.

THE first year of the sacred war had now elapsed, (for it must be thought an essential part of the present history to trace the progress of this important contest) when Philomelus began to find himself engaged in a truly dangerous and momentous enterprise. He perceived the dreadful storm which was preparing to burst upon

upon him from different quarters, and saw the necessity of guarding effectually against it. He drew together a large body of new mercenaries, to which he added a number of such Phocians as were capable of service, but as yet had not been incorporated in his army; and as it was absolutely necessary to procure a large sum of money for the support of these forces, and as policy forbid him to commit any outrage on the riches of the temple, he conceived a less odious method of raising the necessary supplies; which was to tax all the inhabitants of Delphi, who had been enriched by the devotion of Greece, and by the continual resort of various nations to the celebrated oracle. By these means, he was enabled to take the field with a formidable power, and to present himself in readiness to oppose all the enemies of Phocis. The Locrians, who were still the first to express their zeal against him, now again met him in arms, and came to an engagement near to those rocky precipices, called by the Grecians, Phaedriades. The battle was fought, on each side, with sufficient valour; but, in spite of their bravest efforts, the Locrians were defeated, pursued with considerable slaughter, many of them made prisoners, and many driven down headlong from the rocks. The event of this engagement serv-

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ed to inflame the spirit of the Phocians, but threw the Locrians into the deepest consternation. They instantly dispatched their deputies to Thebes, to represent their deplorable condition, and to urge that state to hasten to their assistance, and that of the god.

AND now the Phocians were threatened with the immediate appearance of the Thebans, and of the other states, which paid deference to the decrees of the Amphictyonic body. Philomelus could not yet think himself sufficiently armed against so formidable an association, and therefore determined to reinforce his army with still greater numbers. To this it was previously necessary to find new supplies of money. As all his former resources were exhausted, as neither Athens nor Lacedaemon had as yet sent him the stipulated succours, he was at last obliged, however invidious and unpopular it might appear, to lay his sacrilegious hands on the treasures and rich offerings of the temple; and, having taken as much from this large fund as he judged necessary, he was enabled to augment the pay of his mercenaries by one half of the former sum. By these means, he instantly found himself surrounded by great numbers from all parts of Greece, of desperate fortunes

and

Died. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 30.

and abandoned characters; immoral and profligate contemners of the national religion, and influenced only by the hopes of sharing a rich spoil. They were all supplied and gratified; and thus Philomelus was enabled to march into the Locrian territory, at the head of above ten thousand horse and foot; a large army for a Phocian general, and much beyond what might have been expected in his circumstances. The Locrians, now reinforced by some of the Boeotians, came out to meet him. The cavalry on each side engaged, and the Phocians were victorious. The Thessalians, with the auxiliary forces, which their neighbouring states had raised, having made up a body of six thousand men, next march down into Locris, and meet the enemy at the foot of an hill called Argolas: but here the Phocians are once more victorious. A formidable body of thirteen thousand Boeotians now arrive, and join the confederates; while Philomelus is reinforced by fifteen hundred Achaeans sent from Peloponnesus. This chief, though now considerably inferiour in numbers, yet disdained the thoughts of a retreat. Both armies were collected on the same plain, and incamped in view of each other.

FREQUENT excursions were necessarily made from each army, on account of foraging; and,

SECT. II.

on one of these occasions, it happened, that a number of mercenary forces, in the service of Philomelus, had the misfortune to be surrounded, and taken prisoners, by a superiour body of Boeotians. The wretches were brought in triumph to the camp; proclamation was made with all solemnity, by an herald, that, by the sentence of the great council of Amphictyons, these men were condemned to die, for having served in the army of sacrilegious violators of the rights of Apollo; and this sentence was instantly executed without mercy. The soldiers, in the pay of Phocis, were fired with fury and indignation at the cruel and disgraceful fate of their comrades: they seized the first opportunity of surprising a party of the enemy: they led them to their general's tent: they called loudly for revenge: nor could Philomelus oppose their urgent remonstrances: the prisoners were delivered up to their fury, and put to death with every circumstance of cruelty that had been practised in the enemy's camp.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 31.

At length both armies decamped at once, and began to march the same way, which the the conveniency of forage seems to have pointed out. After some motions, in a close and woody country, which concealed the approach of each from the other, until they were just in view,
their

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their vanguards first met unexpectedly, and began to skirmish. The action soon became general and violent; and the Phocians, after some resistance, were forced to yield to superiour numbers. The country, in which they fought, filled with rocks, and precipices, and pathless woods, impeded their retreat, and exposed them to all the fury of the victorious enemy, who made great slaughter both of the Phocians and the mercenaries. Philomelus exerted all his valour and abilities to correct this disorder, but without effect. Unable to stop the flight of his soldiers, covered over with wounds, pierced with anguish and despair, he, at length, yielded to the torrent, and soon found himself pushed to the brow of a frightful precipice, which cut off all further flight. The enemy were pressing close upon him; he knew the treatment he was to expect, were he to fall alive into their hands; his desperate resolution was, in the same moment, formed and executed; and, from the precipice on which he stood, he boldly leaped down, and paid the punishment due to his turbulent ambition. The command of the army, by this means, devolved to Onomarchus, his brother and colleague, who, with great difficulty, collected, by degrees, the scattered remains of the defeated army, and retired to Phocis. The Thebans, and other confederates, having

closed the campaign so fortunately, returned to their own territories, expatiating on the fate of Philomelus, as a manifest indication of divine wrath; and being, by this success, confirmed in their resolutions to pursue the enemies of heaven and of Greece, they declared their firm purpose of asserting this righteous cause, and of punishing all those sacrilegious wretches, who might be taken in the course of the war, in the same manner as their chief had suffered, the manner which Apollo himself, by this execution of his vengeance, seemed to point out to them.

THE Athenians, as we have already seen, were engaged by a formal treaty to send assistance to these unhappy Phocians. But their indolence had as yet prevented them from performing their engagement, and they had now the mortification to find their acknowledged friends and allies defeated, and almost totally destroyed, by means of their desertion. While they thus neglected a contest, which raged in the heart of Greece, and now began to threaten most important consequences, their vanity prompted them to extend their views to Asia, and to affect an attention to the motions and designs of the great king. The thoughts of their ancient glory were too flattering ever to subside,

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SECT. I.

subside, even amidst all their corruptions; the ancient causes of enmity, between them and Persia, were still remembered, and, on many occasions, ostentatiously recounted. The late conduct of their general Chares, in assisting a rebellious noble, had raised a just and warm resentment at the Persian court; and their notions of their own importance made them readier to suspect, that the vast armaments, which were now preparing by Artaxerxes Ochus, threatened them, and that some important blow was meditated against their dominions. The orators of Athens seemed studious to flatter the weakness and vanity of the people on this occasion, and exerted all their eloquence to engage them in a vigorous opposition to the ancient enemy of Greece. All the actions of their great ancestors were recalled to their remembrance; the names of Miltiades, Themistocles, Cimon, and the other illustrious enemies of Persia, resounded through the assembly; all the force and artifice of language was employed to adorn their actions; and their posterity were pathetically invited to imitate these renowned patterns of virtue, and to rise up in arms against the Barbarian. It is not impossible but that the agents and partisans of the king of Macedon might have regarded this as a favourable occa-

Demost.
Orat. de
Class.

Book II.

tion to advance their master's interest; and that by joining violently in the outcry against the Persian, by fomenting the suspicions of his designs, and by flattering the national pride of the Athenians, they endeavoured to divert their attention from the actions of Philip, whom they seem to have represented as a powerful prince, ready to lay aside all private animosities, and to unite with them against the common enemy. The artifice of these secret friends of Macedon, or their own terrours, so far wrought upon the Athenians, that they resolved to send a deputation to all the Greeks to invite them to suspend their private quarrels, and to unite against the designs of Persia; and they themselves so far forgot all private animosities; and possibly were so far influenced by the artifice of corrupted hirelings, that they resolved, on this occasion, to acknowledge Macedon as a member of the Hellenic body, and to invite Philip to join in the general confederacy. Olivier * thinks it probable, that Isocrates was the person who answered for the conduct of Philip, and induced his countrymen to this resolution. This old, reclusive, and virtuous rhetorician was easily flattered by the attention which Philip paid to him, as well as other men of learning; and, convinced, himself, of the sincerity of his declarations, might naturally have laboured to convince his fellow-

Liter.
Philip.

* Lib. 4.
p. 175.

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Section I.

fellow-citizens, and to remove their prejudices, by echoing those plausible pretences with which Philip disguised all his hostilities, and which might have had their full effect upon an honest mind, unacquainted with the artifices of public life. Add to this, that Philostratus tells us (as the French writer observes) that at one time Isocrates reconciled Philip to the Athenians; which could not possibly have happened but in the present conjuncture: as in the grand treaty, executed by the ten orators, Isocrates had no share: and the peace which succeeded the battle of Chaeronea was not made till after his death. However this may be, no overtures could possibly be made to Philip more agreeable to his policy and ambition, nor more likely to engage his whole attention; and possibly the secret practices of this prince, or the vanity of Athens, might have had more material consequences in this conjuncture, had not Demosthenes now appeared, for the first time, in a debate about the public interest, and exerted his address and energy to moderate the excessive and ill-directed zeal of the Athenians.

THIS illustrious orator and statesman, whom we shall hereafter find acting so considerable a part in the course of this history, was born in the last year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, according

Book II.

Juvenal.
Satyr. 10.

Plut. in
Demost.

According to Dionysius, who, in his epistle to Ammaeus, hath accurately distinguished the different periods of his life, and the times in which his several orations were delivered. He was the son, not of a mean and obscure mechanic, as the Roman satyrist hath represented him, but of an eminent Athenian citizen, who raised a considerable fortune by the manufacture of arms. At the age of seven years he lost his father; and, to add to this misfortune, the guardians to whom he was entrusted, wasted and embezzled a considerable part of his inheritance. Thus oppressed by fraud, and discouraged by a weak and effeminate habit of body, he yet discovered an early ambition to distinguish himself as a popular speaker. The applause bestowed on a public orator, who had defended his country's right to the city of Oropus, in an elaborate harangue, inflamed his youthful mind with an eager desire of meriting the like honour. Isocrates and Isaeus were then the two most eminent professors of eloquence at Athens. The soft and florid manner of the former did by no means suit the genius of Demosthenes. Isaeus was more vigorous and energetic, and his style better suited to public business. To him, therefore, he applied; and, under his direction, pursued those studies, which might accomplish him for the character to which he aspired. His first

first essay was made against his guardian, by whom he had been so injuriously treated. But the goodness of his cause was here of more service than the abilities of the young orator; for his early attempts were unpromising, and soon convinced him of the necessity of a graceful and manly pronunciation. His close and severe application, and the extraordinary diligence with which he laboured to conquer his defects and natural infirmities, are too well known, and have been too frequently the subject of historians and critics, ancient and modern, to need a particular recital. His character, as a statesman, will be best collected from the following history; as an orator, the reader, perhaps, is not to be informed of his qualifications. I take the liberty, however, of transcribing a brief account from a former work:

SECT. I.

“ENERGY and majesty were his peculiar excellencies. From the gravity of Thucydides, the pomp and dignity of Plato, the ease and elegance, the neatness and simplicity of the Attic writers, he formed a style and manner admirably fitted to his own temper and genius, as well as that of his hearers. His own severity determined him to the more forcible methods of astonishing and terrifying, rather than to the gentle and insinuating arts of persuasion.

Preface to the Translation of Demosthenes's Philippic Orations.

Book II.

“persuasion; nor did the circumstances and
“dispositions of his countrymen admit of any
“but violent impressions. As many of those to
“whom he addressed himself were men of low
“rank and occupations, his images and ex-
“pressions are sometimes familiar. As others
“of them were themselves eminent in speaking,
“and could readily see through all the common
“artifices of oratory, these he affects to despise;
“appears only solicitous to be understood; yet,
“as it were, without design, raises the utmost
“admiration and delight: such delight as arises
“from the clearness of evidence, and the fulness
“of conviction. And, as all, even the lower
“part of his hearers, were acquainted with the
“beauties of poetry, and the force of harmony,
“he could not admit of any thing rude or
“negligent; but, with the strictest attention,
“laboured those compositions, which appear so
“natural and unadorned. They have their
“ornaments; but these are austere and manly,
“and such as are consistent with freedom and
“sincerity. A full and regular series of dif-
“fusive reasoning would have been intolerable
“in an Athenian assembly. He even contents
“himself with an imperfect hint: a sentence,
“a word, even his silence is sometimes pregnant
“with meaning. And this quickness and ve-
“hemence flattered a people, who valued them-
“selves

“ selves upon their acuteness and penetration.
 “ The impetuous torrent, that in a moment
 “ bears down all before it; the repeated flashes
 “ of lightning, which spread universal terror,
 “ and which the strongest eye dares not encoun-
 “ ter; are the images by which the nature of
 “ his eloquence hath been expressed.”

He was now twenty-eight years old, when the Athenians assembled to consider of the measures to be taken in consequence of this alarm from Persia, and particularly of the manner of raising an armament proper to defend them against the supposed danger, and of the funds required for preparing and maintaining it. Lucæsin, in his notes on the oration which Demosthenes now delivered, proposes a difficulty, that, by the established laws of Solon, no man was allowed to speak in public, who had not attained the age of thirty; which law, as it appears from the oration of Æschines against Timarchus, was still in force: but this law, as the same learned commentator hath abundantly proved, only regarded those ten public orators who were annually chosen and paid to speak in the affairs of state: who, as they were frequently to address the senate, must necessarily be of the senatorial age. All the other citizens were freely allowed to declare their sentiments in the assembly,

BOOK II. assembly, and to propose any thing which they deemed of advantage to the state; with a due deference, however, to seniority; though the law, which gave to the elders a prior right of speaking, was now abrogated, according to another interpreter of this great Athenian orator.

Teureil.
Not. in
Phil. 1.

Olymp. 106.
Y. 3.

THIS privilege, therefore, Demosthenes now assumed, but not before he had heard the full spirit of national vanity break forth in the assembly, in magnificent harangues on the ancient glory of Athens, and the necessity of curbing the pride of the Barbarian; and of calling upon the Greeks to unite against their common enemy. He seems to have formed juster notions of the present state of his country, of its connexions, interests, and corruptions. As yet, however, it became his age to speak with due caution, and to curb that severity with which he afterwards combated the errors of his countrymen; he begins with tempering their heat and extravagant zeal, without absolutely shocking their prejudices.

Oratio de
Class. init.

“ THE men, who thus dwell upon the praises
“ of our ancestors, seem to me, ye men of
“ Athens, to have chosen a subject fitted rather
“ to please and gratify the assembly, than to do
“ the due honours to those on whom they lavish
“ their

“ their applause. As they attempt to speak of
“ actions which no words can worthily describe,
“ the illustrious subject adorns their speech,
“ and gives them the praise of eloquence; while
“ their hearers are made to think of the virtues
“ of these heroes with much less elevation than
“ these virtues of themselves inspire. To me
“ time itself seems to be the noblest witness to
“ their glory. A series of so many years hath
“ now passed over: and yet no men have yet
“ appeared, whose actions could surpass those
“ consummate patterns of perfection. It shall
“ be my part, therefore, solely to endeavour to
“ point out the means which may enable you
“ most effectually to prepare for war. For, in
“ fact, were all our speakers to proceed in a
“ pompous display of their abilities, such pa-
“ rade and ostentation could not possibly be of
“ the least advantage to the public. But if any
“ man whatever will appear, and can explain,
“ to your full satisfaction, what kind of arma-
“ ment, how great, and how supported, may
“ serve the present exigencies of the state, then
“ all those alarms must instantly be dispelled.”

FROM the circumstances of Greece, the con-
tests which now reigned, the disposition of the
principal states, the dangers which were nearer,
more certain, and more alarming than those ap-
prehended

BOOK II. prehended from Persia, he proceeds gradually to inspire them with sentiments of greater moderation, to recall them from all romantic pursuits, and to confine them to defensive measures, to the care and attention due to their military preparations, that so they might appear amply provided against any attack whatever. The method he proposes for raising their armament, discovers an extraordinary attention to the constitution of his country, and shews that it was not only by forming his voice, his style, and his pronunciation, that Demosthenes prepared himself for public business. His scheme, if particularly discussed, might lead us too far away from the principal subject. It seems equitably and happily conceived, calculated for expedition, and to obviate all difficulties and murmurings. Though possibly the great design of the orator was not so much to point out the means of guarding against the supposed danger, as to divert his countrymen, by a delicate address and artifice, from an affair, which had no other foundation than in the over-heated imaginations of some orators, who were possibly interested in fomenting and increasing the present emotions of the assembly.

It was one great corruption in the state of Athens, that the richer members of the community

munity employed all their influence (in the general decay of public spirit) to shift off from themselves the burdensome and expensive duties of an Athenian citizen. It was their province to equip and to maintain the ships of war: and, by the disposition which prevailed at present, the richest citizen was only obliged to contribute a sixteenth part to the fitting out of one vessel. So that the poor alone felt the public burdens, and many irregularities and deficiencies were found in their marine. In the place of this, Demosthenes proposed a new regulation, whereby every citizen, possessed of ten talents, was obliged, at his own sole expence, to equip one ship of war: they who possessed less, were to unite their fortunes, so as to make up this sum, and to contribute in proportion to their wealth; and they, whose fortunes exceeded ten talents, were also obliged to contribute an additional sum, rated according to their abilities; and, if possessed of twenty, were to fit out two; if of thirty, three ships; which number, together with one tender, was the greatest that any citizen was obliged to provide by the new regulation. This proposal, equitable as it was, yet gave occasion to a prosecution: but the accuser had scarcely that number of voices in his favour, which could screen him from the consequences of a malicious accusation.—The people

Demost. de
Corona, sect.
30.

BOOK II.

saw clearly the advantages of the scheme which Demosthenes proposed; and, without any difficulty, adopted and confirmed it.

THEIR late debate only served to demonstrate what high notions they had formed of the merit and power of Philip: their magnificent schemes quickly vanished, when it began to appear, that the designs of Ochus were all directed against Egypt; and the precarious condition of many of their dependent cities roused them from their dream of glory, to an humble and mortifying sense of their weakness and danger. The possessions which they were labouring to maintain, or to recover, in Thrace, were every day threatened by some new attempt made by the vigilant and active king of Macedon, who was continually engaged in weakening their interest there, while his hostilities were apparently aimed against those petty sovereigns who divided that country, and who, by their mutual contentions for power, gave him a fair opportunity of carrying his arms into their territories, under pretence of succouring the oppressed and weaker party. Cersobleptes, who commanded in the Thracian Chersonesus, soon perceived that he could not long defend that important district against the claim of Athens, and the arms of Philip: in order, therefore, to gain the friendship of the Athenians,

Demost. in
Aristocr.
Olymp.
106. Y. 104.

Diod. Sic. l.
16. 123. 34.

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nians, he now determined to make a formal resignation of the Chersonesus to this people: hoping, by this method, to attach them to his interest, and, by their assistance, to establish himself in the rest of the kingdom, on the ruin of Berisades and Amadocus, the other two co-heirs. This cession was in the highest degree pleasing to the Athenians: Cersobleptes was declared a citizen of Athens; the same honour was conferred on Charidemus, who was then engaged in his service, and assumed the greatest share of the merit of this concession to himself; and flattered the people with hopes of still farther advantages. In the ardour of their acknowledgments, the Athenians passed a decree, enjoining all the allies and subjects of Athens to deliver up, alive or dead, any person who should make an attempt on the life of Charidemus; which produced that oration against Aristocrates, the author of this decree, to which we are indebted for many particulars relating to the affairs of Thrace.

SECT. I.

Demost. in
Aristoc.

Epist. Phil.

Demost. in
Aristoc.

CHARES, who was now coasting along the Hellespont, was directed to receive those places in the Chersonesus, which were thus yielded to the Athenians. He proceeded to execute his commission, but found a vigorous opposition at Sestos, one of the principal of these cities. He

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

BOOK II.

was obliged to besiege it with all his force, and, having taken it by assault, treated the inhabitants with a severity capable of intimidating all the other settlements from any further opposition. All those, who were of age to bear arms, were put to the sword without mercy; the rest reduced to slavery, and an Athenian colony immediately settled at Sestos.

BUT there was one circumstance which, in a great measure, defeated all the advantages which the Athenians might derive from the possession of the Chersonesus. Cardia, the most considerable city of this peninsula, had ever appeared averse to the Athenian government: it was situated on the isthmus, of consequence commanded the entrance from Thrace, and was enabled to preclude the inner settlements from all the advantages of commerce. Its situation afforded room for some dispute, whether it was to be considered as a part of the Chersonesus, or of the Thracian continent. It had been excepted in several treaties, by which the right of Athens to the Chersonesus was acknowledged; and now Cersobleptes expressly reserved Cardia to himself. The Athenians, on their part, though unable to support their pretensions to Cardia, yet still asserted them; and thus a field was opened for perpetual disputes; and Philip had
a fair

Demost. in
Aristoc.
Diod. ut
supra.

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a fair occasion of distressing the Athenians, by uniting with the Cardians, and supporting their independence; a design which he was afterwards enabled effectually to execute,

SECT. I.

IN the mean time, this prince, ever restless and aspiring, ever attentive to the schemes which his ambition dictated, and ever provided with some pretence to justify his hostilities against those who were obnoxious to him, turned his thoughts to Methonè, as a city which his interests required him to reduce. Ancient geographers mention several cities of this name: the principal of which were Methonè in Peloponnesus, situated between Epidaurus and Troezenè; another of the same name in Thessaly, built on the coast of Magnesia; and a third, called the Thracian Methonè, situated on the Thermaïc bay, at the distance of * forty stadia from Pydna. This last city it was, to which Philip now laid siege, (as the authority of Strabo †, as well as that of Eustathius, in his notes on the second book of the Iliad, directs us to determine.) By its situation it was capable of serving as a kind of citadel to favour the excursions of the enemies of Macedon into the heart of his dominions, whether of Cersobleptes, against whom he made no scruple to avow his enmity; or of the Olynthians, on whose ruin

* About four miles.

† In Excerpt. l. 7.

Oliv. l. 5. p. 189.

he now seems to have resolved, and who, on their part, had good reasons to suspect and dread his rising power. Nor was this city less convenient to the Athenians, or less favourable to any attempts which they might make to invade his kingdom. Thither were their forces transported, as we have already seen, in the expedition in favour of Argæus: and, in earlier times, as we learn from Thucydides *, they had experienced the convenience of this port, in making their descents on Macedon. He could not think of leaving such a city open to his secret or declared enemies; and therefore determined to destroy it. The Methonæans, to whom his design could not be long a secret, prepared and exerted themselves as men who fought for their very being; and, for a while, sustained the siege with an obstinate valour. One of the cities, called Methonè, had been employed in its fortifications from the time of the Trojan war: which the Greeks imputed to an imprecation pronounced by Agamemnon, who, when the inhabitants alleged this their engagement as an excuse for not uniting their arms with him, prayed that these walls, which thus prevented them from joining in the common cause of Greece, might never be finished. Theopompus, as quoted by Strabo *, understands this of the city which Philip now besieged: and, if so, the

* l. 6.

Strabo, l. 8.
p. 375.* in loco
citat.

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the Methonæans had strength, as well as valour, to oppose Philip: while the Athenians, on their part, alarmed at this new instance of his restless ambition, were preparing to send powerful succours to the besieged.

Sacr. I.

Phil. 1.
sect. 13.

DURING the operations of the siege, as Philip was employed in viewing the works, and directing the approaches, an arrow, shot from the town, wounded him dangerously in the eye, and cast the besiegers into the utmost confusion. But they were soon re-animated by the vigour and resolution of their prince, who gave orders, with the utmost calmness and intrepidity, for continuing the siege, and committed himself to the care of Critobulus, a chirurgeon, whose skill, in so important a cure, history has thought worthy to be recorded: and who, though he could not save his eye, yet contrived, by his dexterity, to take away all the blemish which might have been expected from such an accident. When the arrow was extracted, this inscription is said to have appeared on it, **ASTER TO PHILIP'S RIGHT EYE**; a circumstance on which some relations have been founded, that are unauthorized, and unsupported, by the more authentic writers. It is said, (as the reader, who is at all conversant in modern compilements,

Suidas in
Καταρτο.

Plin. l. 7.
c. 37.

Suidas
Solin. c. 14,
15.

Book II.

Tourreil.
Not. in
Philip 1.

perhaps need not be informed) that one After of Amphipolis, or of Olynthus, according to others, recommended himself to the service of Philip, by assuring him, that his skill in shooting was so accurate, that, with his bow, he could strike down birds in their full flight: to which Philip answered with contempt, "It is well! I shall make use of thee when I wage war with starlings:" and that After, stung with this neglect, threw himself into Methone, whence he shot the arrow with the inscription above mentioned. It is also added, that Philip sent back the arrow, when extracted from his eye, with another inscription, importing, that, if once master of the town, he should hang up After; and that this threat was afterwards executed. These last circumstances entirely depend on the authority of Suidas and Ulpian; and are thought to be sufficiently overturned by the honourable testimony which Justin * gives to the general clemency of Philip on this occasion: but if the particulars, which Monsieur Tourreil relates, be really authentic, (his authority, indeed, I confess, I have not been able to discover) it must be submitted to those who are acquainted with the laws of war, how far an extraordinary severity may be justified against a man, who took so severe a method of approving his

lib. 7.
in fine.

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his skill, and, at the same time, revenging the king's neglect. It is certain, that, whatever were the circumstances really attending this wound, they must have reflected some degree of dishonour upon Philip; as Lucian*, in his method of writing history, mentions, as an instance of the freedom with which historians should write, that such particulars as Philip's wound in the eye, or Alexander's killing Clitus, should, by no means, be passed over. And, if his wound was the consequence of a rash and wanton neglect of a soldier's extraordinary abilities, his enemies must have triumphed, and he himself been ashamed of his mistake and his misfortune. Such a supposition may account for that sensibility which Philip is said to have felt ever after, to such a degree, that the bare repetition of the word *eye* was painful and offensive to him. As to any wounds received nobly in the course of war, it cannot be supposed, that a prince of his exalted sentiments, and thirst for glory, could have considered them in any other light, but as the memorials of his valour. But if the recollection of them suggested the idea of his mistaken conduct, and unwarrantable inattention to his interest; then it must necessarily have covered him with confusion. Indeed as to the word *Cyclops*, by which his enemies frequently pointed him out; the offence,

SECT. I.

* p. 365.
Edit. Lut.

Demetrius
Phal. de
Elocut.
c. 3.

Book II.

offence, which he is said to have conceived at it, may as well be supposed to have arisen from its conveying the idea of a cruel and barbarous monster, incapable of the sentiments of humanity.

THE wound of their prince, which had at first cast the Macedonians into confusion, now served only to animate them, when they found the danger over, and that Philip was still enabled to direct the siege with unabated vigour. The inhabitants of Methonè, on their part, continued to make an obstinate defence. The Macedonians were ordered to prepare for a general assault; and, animated by the presence of their royal general, encouraged by his promises, and inflamed by the example of his resolution, they pressed forward with sufficient eagerness, and boldly mounted the walls. The opposition of the besieged could not prevent considerable numbers from gaining the battlements; when, to cut off all retreat, Philip instantly ordered the scaling ladders to be removed; thus leaving his men to the desperate alternative, either of dying, or pursuing their advantage. The Methonians soon found all resistance vain; laid down their arms, and submitted to the mercy of the victor; who, if we may believe Justin*, treated them, on this occasion, not only with moderation,

Polyaen.
Stratag.
L. 4.

* L. 7. in fin.

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ration, but kindness, Diodorus† informs us more explicitly, that the conditions which he granted them were these: that the inhabitants should be suffered to march out unmolested, with one suit of apparel only; and that the city, with all the rest of its possessions, should be delivered up without reserve. And, in these times, when slavery was generally the unhappy lot of the conquered, and their enemy was deemed absolute proprietor of their persons, as well as their possessions, such terms must have deservedly been esteemed moderate and favourable.

SECT. I.

† l. 16.

sect. 34.

THUS was Philip in possession of Methonè, while the Athenian succours were failing to its relief. The city was rased to the ground; and the lands divided among his soldiers: and thus were his enemies deprived of a station which they might have occupied with advantage, and a colony planted there entirely in the interest of Macedon, ready to watch their designs, and to give the alarm on the least appearance of commotion, bound particularly to Philip by all the ties which could engage men; by the opinion of his power, his abilities, and his merit; and by the benefits which he well knew how to bestow upon them, with the appearance of the most

Demost.

Phil. 1.

sect. 13.

Diod. ut

supra.

Book II.Oliv. l. 5.
p. 195.

cordial and undefigning affection and liberality.

THE French author of his life here seems strongly affected by his hero's laudable disposition, equally influenced by the pleasure of bestowing, and that of animating the virtue of his soldiers, by the rewards which his bounty dealt to them. In one instance he observes this happy temper engaged him in an act of injustice, which gave him much uneasiness, but which he found means of repairing. The reader may, perhaps, not be displeased at having the narration suspended by the introduction of this anecdote, which Seneca hath preserved.

Seneca de
Benef. c.
37.

A CERTAIN soldier, in the Macedonian army, had, in many instances, distinguished himself by extraordinary acts of valour, and had received many marks of Philip's favour and approbation. On some occasion he embarked on board a vessel, which was wrecked by a violent storm, and he himself cast on the shore, helpless and naked, and scarcely with the appearance of life. A Macedonian, whose lands were contiguous to the sea, came opportunely to be witness of his distress, and, with all humane and charitable tenderness, flew to the relief of the unhappy stranger.

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SECT. I.

stranger. He bore him to his house, laid him in his own bed, revived, cherished, comforted, and, for forty days, supplied him freely with all the necessaries and conveniencies which his languishing condition could require. The soldier, thus happily rescued from death, was incessant in the warmest expressions of gratitude to his benefactor, assured him of his interest with the king, and of his power and resolution of obtaining for him, from the royal bounty, the noble returns which such extraordinary benevolence had merited. He was now completely recovered, and his kind host supplied him with money to pursue his journey. In some time after, he presented himself before the king, he recounted his misfortunes, magnified his services; and this inhuman wretch, who had looked with an eye of envy on the possessions of the man who had preserved his life, was now so abandoned to all sense of gratitude, as to request that the king would bestow upon him the house and lands where he had been so tenderly and kindly entertained. Unhappily Philip, without examination, inconsiderately and precipitately granted his infamous request; and this soldier now returned to his preserver, and repaid his goodness, by driving him from his little settlement, and taking immediate possession of all the fruits of his honest industry. The poor man, stung

with this instance of unparalleled ingratitude and insensibility, boldly determined, instead of submitting to his wrongs, to seek relief; and, in a letter addressed to Philip, represented his own and the soldier's conduct in a lively and affecting manner. The king was instantly fired with indignation; he ordered that justice should be done without delay; that the possessions should be immediately restored to the man whose charitable offices had been thus horridly repaid; and, having seized his soldier, caused these words to be branded on his forehead, **THE UNGRATEFUL GUEST**: a character infamous in every age, and among all nations; but particularly among the Greeks, who, from the earliest times, were most scrupulously observant of the laws of hospitality.

BOOK II. SECTION II.

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HISTORY of the sacred war continued.—Onomarchus created general of the Phocians.—His assiduity and address.—He prepares vigorously for action.—Takes Thronium, Amphissa, and Orchomenus.—Is defeated before Chaeronea.—Philip, at length, engaged as a party in the sacred war.—The disorders in Thessaly.—Philip marches against the tyrants who had attempted to resume the sovereign power, and defeats them.—Onomarchus prepares to support them.—Philip receives a signal defeat.—Onomarchus ravages Boeotia.—His secret practices with Lycophron,—discovered by Philip,—who marches once more against Lycophron and the Phocians.—Gains a complete victory.—The death of Onomarchus.—Philip's measures to secure the attachment of the Thessalians.—His reputation.—The jealousy of the Athenians.—An union between their state and Olynthus.—Commutations in Thrace.—Philip besieges Heraeum.—Confusion at Athens.—Sickness

Sickness of Philip calms the apprehensions of the Athenian people.—Philip's first hostilities in the Olynthian territories.—Phaylus succeeds Onomarchus in the command of the Phocian army.—Applies to Athens and Sparta.—Insidious project of Archidamus, for reconciling the different interests of the Grecian states.—Disorders in Peloponnesus;—which promise advantages to Philip.—Actions of Phaylus.—Philip determines to pursue his success in Greece.—Marches towards Thermopylae.—The Athenians terrified at his attempt.—Seize the passes.—Philip retreats.—His subsequent conduct, as related by Justin.—The late behaviour of the Athenians variously received and represented.—Their joy at Philip's retreat.—They continue to guard the frontiers.—The first Philippic oration of Demosthenes.

BOOK THE SECOND.

SECTION II.

THE defeat of Philomelus, as hath already been observed, closed the second year of the sacred war; when the confederates, who had united to defend the authority of the Amphictyonic council, retired into their own territories; and the Phocians were led back to Delphi by Onomarchus, delivered for a time from the horrors of a war, in which they had already so severely suffered. This interval of rest they first began to employ in convening a general assembly of their allies and auxiliaries, to consult about the war, and the measures to be pursued in their present distressful circumstances. In this assembly, the opinions were considerably divided, according to the different passions or interests which influenced that great variety of members who composed it. Many, deeply affected by the prospect of their danger, and the odiousness of their cause, judged that an accommodation should be purchased on any terms, and declared violently for peace. Others, who

BOOK II.
SECT. II.

Olymp. 306.
Y. 4.

Diod. Sic. l.
16. sect. 32.

Book II.

dreaded the resentment of the enemy, or who had engaged in this unpopular quarrel, merely from expectation of large pay and rich plunder, and whose abandoned manners rendered them insensible of disgrace and infamy, declared as violently for the continuance of a war, on which alone their rapacious hopes and prospect of security were founded; and enforced their opinions by every plausible argument which might have weight in a popular assembly. After some passionate debates, each party was for a while silent; while the leaders turned their eyes around, to look for some man of consequence, whose opinion might determine the fate of this important deliberation.

THEY did not long continue in this suspense. Onomarchus, who was fully prepared for the part he had now to act, rose up, and instantly engaged the attention of the whole body. This chief, who had a peculiar interest in the continuance of the war, addressed himself to the assembly in an artful and premeditated harangue, calculated to dissipate their fears, and to enliven their expectations. With a consummate address he enforced every plausible argument for war, every motive of interest and of honour, which might induce the Phocians, and their allies, to pursue the plan which their late general had formed.

Diod. Sic. l.
36. sect. 32.

formed. His harangue was specious and insinuating; and numbers were found in the assembly to echo his sentiments. All opinions of moderation, all representations of difficulty and danger, were drowned in the violence of acclamations and tumultuous applause; without further consultation, it was resolved to pursue the most vigorous measures for supporting the war: and Onomarchus was invested with full powers, as commander in chief of the Phocian army. SECT. II.

No sooner was he thus raised to the dignity which had been the object of his wishes, but he began to exert himself in such a manner, as to confirm the expectations his people had conceived from him. He applied himself, with the utmost diligence and vigour, to the re-establishment of his army, which the late engagement had considerably weakened. Every part of Greece was ransacked for mercenaries, whom he enticed to his standard by his munificence and flattering assurances. By these, (whom he incorporated with those companies in which the greatest havock had been made) he not only restored, but augmented, his army: and once more enabled the Phocians to threaten their inveterate enemies with a formidable opposition.

Diod. Sic. l.
16. sect. 33.

BOOK II. And, while thus employed in making every necessary provision for war, he also took care, in imitation of his predecessor, to work on the superstition and ignorance of his people, and to find out dreams and portents, in order to inspire them with hopes of success. While his mind was possessed with magnificent schemes and designs, he dreamed, or pretended to have dreamed, that he was employed in raising a colossal statue, which the Amphictyons had dedicated to Apollo; and that it appeared to grow greater under his hands. This Diodorus * seriously interprets as a declaration, that this general should be the means of making those wretched Phocians doubly repay the outrages committed against the deity and his temple. But Onomarchus was furnished with diviners, who explained it in a quite different manner, as an indication of that great accession of glory and honour, which his army was to acquire under their new commander.

* l. 16
sect. 33.

113d.

His vigour and assiduity gave weight to this interpretation. To repair every damage sustained in the last battle, he applied himself to provide weapons for the numbers he had now levied. All his armourers were employed incessantly; and vast quantities of arms, offensive and defensive, were provided with all expedition.

tion. The gold and silver, which the rapine of his predecessor, or his own industry or violence, had amassed, was quickly coined; and his agents dispersed through the neighbouring states that were in alliance with Phocis, where they distributed his money to the magistrates and citizens of eminence, to attach them the more firmly to his interest, and to bear down all opposition in their popular assemblies. Nor were even his enemies entirely proof against the powerful temptations by which he secretly assailed their fidelity. Numbers of them were found, who eagerly received his bribes, and were prevailed on to revolt to the Phocians, or, at least, to observe a neutrality: such was the power of gold, and such the universal degeneracy and corruption which now prevailed through Greece. And while he thus laboured to increase the number of his friends, and to weaken his enemies, by these his secret practices, he, at the same time, established his interest at home, by the most arbitrary and despotic measures. Murmurings and discontents, which the calamities of war naturally excited, and which that sense of the odiousness of their cause, still remaining among the more moderate and virtuous of his countrymen, could not but increase, were instantly stifled by the most tyrannical seve-

rities. If any presumed to express the least dissatisfaction at his conduct, they were loaded with chains, despoiled of their possessions, and put to death with every circumstance of cruelty: a procedure which not only served to weaken and intimidate the party which opposed him, but enabled him to promote his designs, by the additional wealth acquired from these confiscations.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 33.

AND now, having made all the necessary preparations, Onomarchus marched out, at the head of his forces, and made an irruption into the territories of the Locrians, called Epicnemidii. Here he began with attacking Thronium, a city on their confines; and, having taken it by assault, exposed it to the rapaciousness of his soldiers, and made slaves of the inhabitants. Thence he proceeded to Amphissa, a town of the Locrians, surnamed Ozolæ. The Amphissæans, intimidated by the severities inflicted on the people of Thronium, did not attempt the least opposition: but instantly submitted to such terms as the conquerour was pleased to dictate; and, probably, by a large sum of money, rescued their city from the insatiable fury of his army. Hence he poured down on the territories of Doris; where, hav-
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Sacr. II.

ing taken some cities, and desolated the lands, he traversed his own country, and, by a forced march, pierced into Boeotia. Here he seized the famous city of Orchomenus: and, having spread the terrour of his arms, rushed forward with a precipitate fury, and prepared to lay siege to Chaeronea; when the Thebans, who were now ready to stem the torrent, marched out to meet the Phocians, by this time considerably weakened by their repeated conquests and the garrisons they had stationed in the several conquered towns. A general engagement ensued, in which Onomarchus was defeated, and driven back to Phocis.

HITHERTO we have seen this contest carried on independent of Macedon, and Philip viewing, with a seeming unconcern, the havock, the variety of fortune, the victories and calamities of the contending powers. But, at length, the time was come, when his honour and policy required that he should take some share in this quarrel. Lycophron, whom Philip had obliged to resign his usurped authority in Thes-saly, had not yet lost all hopes of re-establishing his power; but secretly formed and strengthened his party, waiting for some favourable opportunity to avow his intentions. To him, among

Q4

other

Book II.

Diod. l. 16.
sect. 33.

Sect 35.

other considerable personages, Onomarchus had applied, and, partly by the interest which Lycophron maintained among the Thessallians, partly by the natural inconstancy of this people, his intrigues and bribery proved so successful, that Thessaly separated from the confederates, and professed to observe a neutrality in the sacred war. The Phocian chief, justly considered himself principally indebted to Lycophron for this important service, and that his interest must be greatly advanced by the restoration of this tyrant. By his means, and in his name, he even hoped to gain the absolute command of Thessaly, and to become the real sovereign, while Lycophron, who was to govern by his support, could govern only for his purposes. Seven thousand of his forces, therefore, were dispatched to Pheræ, under the command of his brother Phayllus, to support the tyrant; who, encouraged by this powerful alliance, established himself in that city, and openly asserted his pretensions to the sovereign power.

THE desertion of Thessaly was regarded by the Thebans with an affected contempt. This people, resolving to convince the world that they could not possibly be distressed by such instability, detached five thousand men into Asia, under the conduct of their general Pammones,

Diod. Sic.
l. 16. sect.
34.

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to assist Artabazus, (who still continued his rebellion; but, when Chares was obliged to quit his service, found himself reduced to considerable difficulties.) Here Pammones gained repeated victories; and, by his conduct, gave peculiar pleasure to the Thebans, who, ever since the famous Persian war, in which they had united their arms with the Barbarian, eagerly wished for any glorious opportunity of retrieving their honour, by some gallant exploits against the ancient enemy of Greece.

SECT. II.

Dem. Orat.
de Claff.

BUT the king of Macedon could not look with indifference on this conduct of the Thessalians, which seemed to argue the declension of his influence in their state; nor could his honour permit him to suffer the total subversion of those glorious regulations, those provisions for the peace and liberty of Thessaly, which his arms had lately made. The solicitations with which his friends and adherents, in that country, now urged him to take up arms in their defence, were not wanted to prevail upon him. He instantly marched into Thessaly. (I follow the opinion of a learned commentator * in supposing, that) on this occasion it was, he formed the siege of Pagasæ, which Demosthenes so frequently mentions. The Athenians were informed of this transaction; they resolved to

* Luceffini
Not. in Phil.
I.

BOOK II.
 Philipp. i.
 sect. 13.

Diod. Sic.
 l. 16.
 sect. 35.

send succours to the town; and, as usual, executed this resolution, when the address and valour of the Macedonian had already rendered him master of it. Lycophron, and his auxiliaries, prepared to meet the enemy, but soon proved unequal to Philip and his valiant army. Onomarchus, sensible of their danger, marched out with speed to join them, but could not arrive till they had received a total defeat, and were chased out of Thessaly.

Polyaen.
 Stratag. l. 2.
 c. 28.

AND now Philip, having reinforced his army with those Thessalians who still continued well-affected to him, prepared to meet Onomarchus, who was advancing with all his powers. The Phocians were superiour in numbers: but the Macedonian Phalanx was, by this time, renowned through all Greece. Onomarchus dreaded its attack, and justly conceived that his success wholly depended on breaking this formidable body. The two armies met, and, at the very first charge, the Phocians gave way, and were pursued to some high mountains contiguous to the field of battle. The Macedonians pressed on, confident of victory; but soon had horrid proof, that the retreat of their enemy was no more than an artifice, which the sagacious foresight of their general had suggested and

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and contrived. The Phocians now began the attack in earnest, and made effectual use of those weapons, which had been provided for the execution of their design. Stones, and fragments of rocks, of an enormous size, were rolled down upon their assailants, whose sanguine hopes were quickly lost in amazement and confusion; whole files were, in an instant, crushed to pieces, with every circumstance of horror. The Phalanx, whose close order served but to increase the havock, was broken, and, in that state, unable to sustain the assaults of their enemy, who now marched down in good order from the mountains, and fell, with all their fury, upon an army already vanquished. The valour and activity of Philip here proved, for the first time, ineffectual: the Macedonians were forced from the field of battle, which was become a horrid scene of ruin and carnage. Their prince, however, after many fruitless efforts, at length brought off his forces to an even ground, out of the reach of the enemy, where he, with difficulty, restored their order, and revived their courage. But as the Phocians had been at first superiour in numbers, and as great havock had been made in his army, he found it most advisable to march back to Macedon; observing, on this occasion, that his
soldiers

Sacr. II.

BOOK II.

Polyæn.
Stratag.
I. 2. c. 28.

soldiers did not fly from the enemy, but, like rams, retired, in order to make their shock the more forcible and furious [A].

Diod. Sic.
I. 16.
sect. 35.

Strabo, l. 9.
p. 411.

Olivier, l. 5.
p. 203.

LYCOPHRON was thus enabled to return triumphant into Theffaly; while Onomarchus, elevated by his victory over a prince who had hitherto been regarded as invincible, marched into Boeotia, where he gained another victory, and then proceeded to attack the city of Coronea. This city was built on an eminence near mount Helicon. On the east, it was defended by the lake Copaïs, which prevented it from being entirely invested, and served to convey a constant supply of provisions, by water, from the other cities of Boeotia. The river Curalius, as it winded round to fall into the lake, formed a natural fosse on the south; but, on the north, the city was entirely open, as the Thebans, in order to preserve their superiority in Boeotia, and to secure the dependence of this city, had

[A] ACCORDING to Diodorus, (l. 16, sect. 35.) Philip renewed the engagement, and was again defeated; which reduced him to the greatest danger and difficulty. A considerable part of his army deserted; and the rest were, by the utmost efforts of his address and policy, scarcely prevailed on to adhere to him. By chusing to follow the account of Polyænus, I apprehend the greater honour is paid to Philip's conduct and abilities as a general.

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filled up the trench, and demolished the fortifications on that side. A city, thus dismantled, was by no means capable of opposing a numerous and victorious army. Onomarchus entered without any considerable opposition, and insulted and terrified the Thebans, by the devastations which he committed, without controul, in the very heart of their dominions. Thus chastised for their vanity in weakening their strength by the Asiatic expedition, this people looked on Philip as their most effectual resource, and expected, with impatience, the moment when he should be enabled to make a diversion in their favour. He had been diligently engaged in re-establishing and strengthening his forces, and now appeared once more in Thessaly at the head of a formidable army, and advanced boldly upon the tyrant.

Sicr. II.

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

LYCOPHRON, fully sensible of his own weakness and insufficiency, made the most pressing instances to Onomarchus, to march immediately to his relief. He lavished the most flattering promises on this crafty and ambitious chief; he assured him, that the Phocians should absolutely command Thessaly, and all its forces; and that he, and those dominions which he was labouring to maintain, should be ever at the devotion of their protectors and deliverers. Pleased with the

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 35.

the prospect of so important an accession of power, Onomarchus did not hesitate a moment to comply with the tyrant's desires. He was now at the head of an army capable of undertaking the most hazardous enterprises; he imagined himself already sovereign commander of all Thessaly, and marched boldly to reinforce his ally with twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse. The forces which Philip had brought from Macedon, he was sensible, were, by no means, able to encounter so formidable and numerous an army: to the Thessalians, therefore, he was obliged to address himself, whose cause he affected to assert, and for whose liberty he professed himself wholly solicitous. He industriously and artfully represented to them, that the junction of Lycophron and Onomarchus must prove fatal to their freedom and happiness; that their tyrant, not content with harassing and oppressing them himself, had now sold them to a foreign power for a vain shew, and empty title of sovereignty; that even of that he must be quickly stripped, and Thessaly totally lost in a mean dependence upon Phocis. In the sacrilegious quarrels of this people, the bravest among the Thessalians must be forced to shed their blood ignobly; to see their possessions torn from them, and all their fertile plains ransacked and ravaged to satiate the avarice

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rice and rapine of a chief, impiously rebellious against heaven and Greece. All these, and such-like remonstrances, he knew how to enforce with consummate artifice; and so inflamed the minds of the generality of the Thessalians, that they breathed nothing but fury against Lycophron and Onomarchus; they acknowledged the king of Macedon their leader, their protector, and deliverer; and crowded to his standard with a warm and cordial zeal. By these means, Philip soon found himself at the head of twenty thousand foot, and three thousand of the best cavalry in Greece.

THE two contending armies now advanced against each other, equally eager to engage, and equally possessed with hopes of victory. Glory and ambition were motives sufficiently animating to Philip; and his soldiers also he well knew how to animate. His cause was fair and popular: he fought against tyranny and oppression, against sacrilege and profanation, in defence of liberty, of Greece, but particularly in defence of Apollo. He ordered all his men to crown their heads with laurel, a tree sacred to that God; and his ensigns he adorned with the emblems and attributes of his divinity. And thus the Macedonians and Thessalians marched on with an enthusiastic valour, as if

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 35.

Justin. l. 3.
c. 2.

com-

commissioned by heaven to inflict its vengeance on sacrilege and profanation. The Phocians, whom the appearance of the enemy had struck with a consciousness of their guilt, were charged with all imaginable fury; yet fought like men animated by despair, and sensible of the necessity of defending their iniquity. The infantry, on each side, equal in numbers, and equally obstinate, kept the victory for some time doubtful; till the Thessalian cavalry advanced, and determined the fortune of the battle. The Phocians, unable to sustain their force and valour, were broken, defeated, and pursued with considerable slaughter. Horror and dismay hurried great numbers of them towards the sea, which was contiguous to the field of battle; and, among these, their general Onomarchus. Here they beheld, at some distance, a fleet which seemed to advance towards the shore, and which they justly concluded to be the succours which Athens had sent to them under the command of Chares; and which arrived only to be witnesses of their ruin. Instead of attempting to stem the torrent of the victorious enemy, and to make some stand till this fleet might advance so far as to afford them, at least, the opportunity of an orderly retreat, their terror and impatience plunged them headlong into the sea, in hopes, by swimming, to find their security

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in the ships. Here numbers of them faint with the loss of blood, and confounded by their fears, sunk under their wounds and fatigue, or were forced down by the tumult. Onomarchus, himself shared this unhappy fate; or, as Pausanias * hath asserted, fell a victim to the revenge and indignation of his own soldiers; who imputed their ruin to his ignorance and cowardice, and forced him down into the deep, covered over with wounds. More than six thousand Phocians perished in this precipitate flight, and on the field of battle: three thousand were made prisoners, and reserved for all the severity which the general laws of Greece denounced against sacrilege. To express the warmer zeal for religion, Philip ordered his soldiers to search for the body of that impious chief, whose profane arms heaven had thus punished; and caused it to be hung on a gibbet, as a dreadful memorial of iniquity and divine vengeance. The other bodies of the slain he cast to the waves, as of wretches unworthy of interment, and the common rights of mankind. He was also authorized, by the laws of Greece, to inflict the same rigour on those who had fallen alive into his hands: but whether he caused them likewise to be cast into the sea, seems not entirely clear from the expression of Diodorus; though a

* in Phoc.

Philo. Jud.
in Euseb.
Præp. l. 8.
p. 392.

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R

French

Book II.
 Vallois, in
 Acad. Bell.
 Lett. vol.
 12.

French compiler of this history supposes, that the dead only were thus treated, and that it is probable he contented himself with reducing his prisoners to the condition of slaves, the mildest punishment denounced against sacrilege: but whether such mercy was consistent with Philip's present political views of setting up for a prince of the most consummate piety, and a zealous avenger of the god's injured honour, may, on the other hand, be justly made a question. So that the fate of these unhappy captives must for ever remain in obscurity.

Olynth. 3.
 sect. 6.

THIS victory convinced Lycophron of the necessity of once more resigning his pretensions to the government of Thessaly; and obliged him to retire from Pherae. That city, together with Pagasae, his late conquest, and Magnesia, another town of considerable note in Thessaly, Philip reserved to himself, the better to secure the dependence of the inconstant Thessalians; who were, at present, unwilling and unable to dispute the decisions of their deliverer, and, without difficulty, submitted to those regulations which he made under pretence of restoring their tranquillity, but, in reality, to keep them firmly attached to Macedon. Thither he now directed his course, crowned with glory and victory; the
 subject

subject of universal praise through Greece, SECT. II.
 where, from this time, he began to be regarded
 as a prince really great and powerful. States-
 men admired the depths of his policy, and ge-
 nerals acknowledged the superiority of his mili-
 tary conduct and abilities; while the lower or-
 ders of men, who were incapable of penetrating
 into his real designs, and were affected only by
 those fair appearances with which he veiled them,
 revered and applauded him as a religious prince,
 the scourge of sacrilege, and defender of Apollo.

AT Athens, his great actions seem to have
 been received with envy and jealousy. A peo-
 ple enervated by indolence and luxury, devoted
 to self-enjoyment, and, at the same time, ele-
 vated with pride and national vanity, were no
 longer able to support their ancient reputation,
 yet could not give up the flattering remem-
 brance of it: they perceived the gradual ad-
 vances, of a new and unsuspected rival, to con-
 summate greatness and sovereignty; but per-
 ceived them with an impotent indignation.
 Convinced of the absolute necessity to check the
 progress of his arms, yet fatally averse to those
 vigorous measures which so important a design
 required, they amused themselves with schemes
 of raising up some other enemy to Philip, who

Demost.
 Olynth. 2.
 sect. 4.

Book II.

might divert him from those excursions which threatened Greece in general, and particularly the Athenians. The confederated states of Olynthus seemed to be the only power fitted for this purpose. It was urged vehemently, that the Olynthians, if possible, were to be engaged in a quarrel with Macedon, as the only means of confining the views of this enterprizing prince to his own neighbourhood; and, while they were thus solicitous to throw the business of their own defence on others, they applauded the design, as the result of deep and extensive policy, though really dictated by their love of ease. The Olynthians, on their part, encouraged them in these their schemes of depressing their rival, by the uneasiness and suspicions of Philip, which they now discovered. The late reduction of Methonè, which implied a peculiar diffidence of them, seems to have alarmed them with a lively sense of the danger to be apprehended from their aspiring neighbour. They envied, they dreaded, they suspected him, in spite of all the favours he had, some time since, conferred upon them; they deemed it absolutely necessary to guard against the designs of a prince incessantly employed in enlarging his power, and extending his dominions. They regarded the state of Athens as the only balance against Macedon; and, about this time, applied to the Athenians,

Demost. in.
Aristocr.

Athenians, to propose an accommodation of all ancient differences, and to enter into such terms of friendship, as might be the basis of a future strict connexion, and of an alliance defensive and offensive. Overtures, so consonant to their own sentiments, were readily embraced by that people, whose assemblies, the only scenes in which their vigour was displayed, seem to have been constantly engaged in deliberations about the conduct of Philip, the tendency of his designs, and the means of guarding against them. But, while the Athenians were consulting, the Macedonian pursued his conquests; and, by new instances of his active spirit, cast them into new dismay and consternation.

Sect. II.

FRESH commotions, which arose in Thrace, determined this prince, ever indefatigable in the pursuit of his designs, once more to march into that country. Here Berisades, one of the coheirs of Cotys, was dead; and Cersobleptes, without regard to those engagements which he had entered into with Athens, and which secured the interests of the other brothers, and probably supported and secretly encouraged by the king of Macedon, attacked the sons of Berisades, and his brother Amadocus, and seemed determined, if possible, to gain the entire sovereignty of Thrace. The several members of

Demost. in
Aristocr.

Book II.

Demost.
Olynth. 3.
sect. 6.
Justin. l. 8.
c. 3.

Dem. Olyn.
3. sect. 6.
Dem. in
Arist.

Phil. Liter.
Luceffini
in Olyn. I.

this family, who had oftentimes experienced the vanity of a dependence on Athens, now began to find it expedient to court the friendship of Philip. To him their differences were submitted: and, in the dispositions which he now made, his own interest only was considered. Amadocus, and the family of Berisades, seem to have been driven by him from their dominions, (for ancient authors speak but obscurely of these transactions) and Cersobleptes, who had, by this time, gained the friendship of Philip, established on their ruin. Teres, another petty prince, who claimed a part of this country, but of whom we have no particular accounts, seems also to have had his power established and enlarged by Philip, who thus distributed dominions as he pleased, and, by his nod, determined the fate of contending potentates.

Stephan. in
voce Ηραία.
Herod. l. 4.
Harpocrat.

Luceffini in
Olynth. 3.

WHILE he was thus engaged, his attention, fixed eternally on the pursuit of new conquests, directed him to an attempt, which discovered the depth of his penetration, and the extent of his views. Heraeum was a fortified place, built by the Samians in Thrace, over-against Chalcedon, and so called from the name of Juno, who was worshipped in that country with peculiar honours. The place was of no great consequence in itself; its harbour was dangerous and

and deceitful; but it served as a kind of citadel to Byzantium, an eminent Thracian city, and of the utmost consequence to the Athenian interest, as it was one great mart from which the barren land of Attica was supplied with the necessary means of subsistence for its inhabitants. With a view, no doubt, of facilitating the conquest of so important a city, Philip now laid siege to Heraeum. The Athenians, though too inattentive and supine to guard against their danger, yet had penetration to conceive it in its full extent, and to see through the whole scheme of their enemy. The news, therefore, of this attack, raised a commotion, hitherto unknown, in the assembly at Athens. Some of the orators exerted all their powers in representing the danger which threatened the state, and in inveighing against the injustice and ambition of Philip: others, in defending or palliating the conduct of a prince, who had attached them to his interest by the power of gold. After some time spent in the warmth of mutual opposition, a decree was formally made, that forty ships of war should be instantly sent to sea; that all the citizens of Athens, within the age of five and forty years (though usually exempted at forty from military service) should now embark on board this fleet, as in a time of urgent distress and difficulty;

Demost. O.
lynth. 2.
sect. 3.

and that sixty talents should be raised to support this formidable armament.

Demost.
Olynth. 2.
sect. 3.

BUT new advices were now received to suspend the effect of these resolutions, and to lull this infatuated people into their former state of insensibility. The fatigue of constant action, joined to the effects of the wound which Philip had received at Methonè, threw him into a dangerous fit of sickness, which alarmed the Macedonians, and interrupted their military operations. The news of this event was soon received with the utmost joy at Athens, and, as is usual in such cases, was propagated with circumstances far exceeding the truth; so that the people were now flattered with assurances, that the king of Macedon was dead. They resigned themselves, with the utmost credulity, to the pleasing hopes of being thus easily delivered from their dangerous enemy: their late decrees for war, and vigorous measures, lay totally neglected and forgotten; months passed away in indolence and pleasures: their entertainments, and religious ceremonies, were deemed objects worthier attention than their defence and security: nor did they ever once think of executing their late resolutions, till a full year elapsed; and, even then, all their projected preparations were reduced to ten vessels, under the command

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of Charidemus, (who was, at this time, engaged in their service) without soldiers sufficient to man them, and with an inconsiderable sum of money to support them. SECT. II.

BUT while the Athenians were gradually sinking into this dangerous state of security, Philip's happy temperament, and robust habit of body, freed him from his present disease, and enabled him to proceed in the execution of his designs. It doth not clearly appear, whether his attempt against Heraeum was successful, or whether his sickness saved that place. But, from a passage in the third Olynthiac oration of Demosthenes *, * sect. 6. compared with one in the first Philippic †, it † sect. 7. appears, that, immediately upon his recovery, he made an inroad into the territories of the Olynthians; possibly in revenge of their late practices at Athens; and might have pursued his hostilities still farther, had not the disorders and commotions in Greece diverted his attention, and, for a while, suspended the final ruin of Olynthus.

THE remains of the Phocian army, which had escaped the fury of the victorious Macedonians in the late engagement, retired into Phocis, still obstinate and undismayed; and, still resolving to pursue the war, chose Phayllus, the last surviving

Olymp. 107.
Y. 1.

Book II.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16. sect.
37.

Pausan in
Lacon.

viving brother of Onomarchus, for his successor. This chief was actuated by the same fatal passions as his predecessors, equally ambitious, equally vigorous, and equally a contemner of the national religion. Instructed by their conduct, he determined to pursue the same measures: he employed the large fund of wealth which he possessed, in collecting great numbers of new mercenaries, and in augmenting those subsidies which the Phocians had been obliged to pay to several people; and went in person to solicit their speedy and effectual assistance. At Athens he received assurances of powerful support. At Sparta, in ancient times so renowned for a contempt of money, his gold now found an easy access. To Denicha, the wife of king Archidamus, the Phocian, it is said, particularly applied [B]. Her person expressed her mean and fordid mind: and, by gratifying her

[B] SHE was remarkably low in stature, and possessed of none of those graces, for which the Spartan women were in general famous. We learn from Heraclides Lembus, an ancient writer, quoted by Athenaeus, (l. 13. p. 566.) that the Ephori imposed a fine on Archidamus for preferring her to another lady of distinguished beauty, but of inferior fortune. The Spartans, who were ever attentive to the constitution of their offspring, expressed their fears on this occasion, lest such a match should produce a diminutive race of kings. βασιλικὸν αὐτὴ βασιλῆων.

passion

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passion for money [c], he was considerably assisted in his design, and found but little difficulty in gaining a renewal of the alliance, and a promise of assistance. SECT. II.

THE subtle and designing temper of Archidamus, incessantly employed in forming schemes for reviving the power of his country, had, at this time, engaged him in a contest with his neighbours, which made a strict connexion between him and Phocis still the more necessary. He had conceived a plan for reconciling the different interests of the Grecian states, in appearance advantageous to the principal members of the great Hellenic body, but, in effect, only calculated to restore the superiority of Sparta. He proposed to re-establish the several cities in the same condition as before the late wars.

Oliv. l. 6.
p. 213.

[c] ACCORDING to Pausanias (in Lacon. p. 91.) Archidamus himself had no small share of the sacrilegious spoils of the temple. To this circumstance the author of the Itinerary subjoins another more for the honour of this prince. That, at some time in the course of the sacred war, when the Phocians had formed a cruel and desperate resolution, of putting all the inhabitants of Delphi, who were capable of bearing arms, to the sword, and selling their wives and children for slaves; Archidamus prevented the execution of this design, and saved the Delphians.

ATHENS

THE LIFE AND REIGN OF

ATHENS would thus have recovered the city of Oropus, to which they still asserted their claim, but which the Thebans kept in their possession [D]. Thespia and Plataea, two eminent cities in Boeotia, that had felt the jealousy and revenge of Thebes, and now lay subverted and depopulated, were, by the same plan, to be restored and fortified. The Phocians were to give up their two important conquests, Orchomenus and Coronea. But these, and the other Boeotian cities, were only to acknowledge Thebes as the principal and leading city of Boeotia, without any absolute submission or depend-

[D] THESPIA was a city of Boeotia, at the foot of mount Helicon. Its inhabitants accounted it an honour to be totally ignorant of all arts, even agriculture not excepted. The Thebans, after their victories over Sparta, to punish the pretended disaffection of the Thespians, sacked and razed their city, without sparing even the temples.—Plataea was another city of Boeotia, famous for the victory which the Greeks gained there over Mardonius. It had been twice demolished by the Thebans. In the fifth year of the Peloponnesian war, the Spartans blocked it up, and obliged the inhabitants to surrender; on which occasion, the Thebans, who were then united with the Spartans, insisted on the demolition of Plataea. The peace of Antalcidas restored this city. But the Thebans, three years before the battle of Leuctra, provoked at the refusal of the Plataeans to join with them against Sparta, again reduced it to a state of desolation.

TOURREIL, Not. in Orat. de Pace.

ence,

ence, and without obedience to that jurisdiction which the Thebans claimed over them. On the other hand, Messene and Megalopolis, the two barriers which Epaminondas had raised up against Lacedemon, were to be destroyed, and their inhabitants dispersed. Thus, while the Thebans were to lose that power, which their late conquests had acquired in Boeotia, all the regulations, which the equity of Epaminondas had established in Peloponnesus, as barriers against the Lacedaemonian ambition, were to be totally subverted, and the Spartans to be restored to a power of resuming that tyrannical dominion, which they had formerly exercised over their neighbours.

In order to facilitate the execution of this plan, he first endeavoured to gain that authority in Peloponnesus to which he aspired. A dispute was soon raised between Sparta and Argos, about the boundaries of their dominions. To Nicostratus, an eminent citizen of Argos, Archidamus secretly applied, and, by many artful and flattering promises, endeavoured to prevail upon him to put him in possession of one of the gates of the city. But the illustrious Argian rejected his offers with indignation. "Is this," said he, "the language of a descendent from Hercules? he destroyed villains, you
" would

Plot. in
Apophth.

BOOK II.

"would make a villain." The king of Sparta, confounded by this gallant rebuke, resolved to have recourse to arms, and, by engaging the several states of Greece in a new contest, increased the disorders and inflamed the commotions of this distracted nation; and thereby gave new hopes to the common enemy, the Macedonian, who saw, with pleasure, the commotions in Peloponnesus, and waited for an occasion of interfering in them with honour and advantage.

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.

BUT, whatever distant hopes Philip might have now conceived from this new dispute, the sacred war was deservedly the more immediate object of his regard. Archidamus had sent one thousand Spartans to the assistance of Phayllus; the Achaeans two thousand; the contingent of the Athenians was still more considerable, for they detached five thousand foot, and four hundred horse, under the command of Nauficles, one of their most experienced generals. The tyrants of Thessaly, lately driven out of that country, without any hopes of a restoration, reinforced the Phocian army with two thousand Thessalians, who had followed their fortune. Nor did those illustrious states, which Phayllus had laboured to gain over, alone engage in this dispute. Many of the less considerable communities were enticed by the prospect of advantage, and joined with

no

no less ardour in this odious and unpopular SæT. II.
cause. And, having thus formed a numerous
army, the Phocian chief determined to strike
terror into his enemies, by proceeding to im-
mediate action: for this purpose, he entered into
Boeotia; and, having advanced as far as to Or-
chomenus, encountered the enemy; but, to mor-
tify his aspiring hopes, received a signal defeat,
and was obliged to retire with the loss of a con-
siderable part of his army. Without allowing
his followers time for any melancholy reflections,
he instantly sought an occasion of reviving their
hopes, and retrieving the honour of his arms.
He again marched against the Boeotians, and
engaged them near the river Cephissus: but this
attempt was still more unsuccessful: four thou-
sand of his men were killed; above four hun-
dred fell into the hands of their unrelenting ene-
my, who remained absolute masters of the field
of battle. Yet, still undismayed, Phayllus re-
newed the combat in a few days, and, in this
weak and unsuccessful effort, fifty of his Pho-
cians were slain, and one hundred and thirty
made prisoners.

IN the mean time Philip, ever studious to
derive the full advantage from the opinions and
passions of other men, was preparing to improve
his late success. The honours of his victory
over

Book II.

sect. 38.

Justin, l. 8.
c. 2.Demost.
Phil. 1.

over Onomarchus were still fresh and blooming: even his enemies admired him; and his partisans were incessant in founding his praises: the minds of the Grecians were inflamed against sacrilege and profanation; and every defeat, which the Phocians received, was industriously represented as a manifest indication of the divine displeasure. This Philip therefore conceived to be the favourable moment for an attempt to penetrate into the very heart of Greece; there to appear the umpire in all disputes, and to render his decisions absolute and irresistible. He flattered himself, that his designs must be perfectly concealed by the veil of religion and veneration for the gods; he declared his resolution of entering into Phocis, and executing full vengeance on that profane and obstinately hardened people; and, with a numerous and formidable army, already provided for the purpose, marched towards Thermopylae, those famous streights, which commanded the entrance into Greece. The Athenians, too acute and penetrating not to see his design in its full extent, or to imagine that any motive could really prompt him to this attempt, but that of gaining the absolute command of Attica and Peloponnesus, were struck with terrour and astonishment at the approach of so formidable a prince to what they justly esteemed the very borders of their territories,

Boeotia

Bocotia alone intervening. They imagined that they already saw the powers of Macedon and Thebes united, pouring down and overwhelming their country, and spreading like a destructive inundation over all Greece. This sudden and violent impression roused them from their indolence. No difficulties were thought of, no supplies wanted; the richer citizens, in this pressing emergency, supplied the public amply from their private fortunes; a formidable armament was instantly provided at an expence, which plainly demonstrated the general sense of the impending danger. They sailed to the streights, possessed themselves of all the passes, and stood prepared to oppose the invader.

SECT. II.

Demost. de
falsa Leg.
sect. 29.

THEIR army was now posted between inaccessible mountains on one hand, and frightful precipices on the other, which terminated in the sea. Valour and discipline must have proved ineffectual against such advantage of situation, even if it had been consistent with policy to have attempted to force a passage. But such an attempt must have been too flagrant a declaration of his designs against a people with whom he was still concerned to keep some measures; Philip, therefore, chose to lead his forces back to Macedon, and to load the Athenians with all the odium of the defence of sacrilege.

Book II.

Dem. Phil.
1. sect. 5.

* 1. 8. c. 3.

THIS unexpected disappointment irritated the mind of Philip to a degree of acrimony, which plainly discovered that his own interest and designs were much more affected by it, than the cause of heaven. His resentment against the Athenians was expressed in the bitterest and boldest denunciations of vengeance; and, if we may believe Justin, his present vexation of mind appeared in some actions quite inconsistent with his general conduct; in which he seldom failed to assume the appearance at least of justice and lenity, and especially where some material point of interest was not concerned. But it is asserted by that historian *, that he now turned his arms against those very cities which had been attached and allied to him, which had marched under his command, and congratulated both him and themselves upon his victories; that he ravaged and plundered these cities, and sold the wives and children of the inhabitants for slaves; that, in the places where he had been just received with all the marks of hospitality, he spared neither their temples nor their gods, so as to appear not so much the avenger of sacrilege, as solicitous to abandon himself to all the excesses of impiety and profanation. Paulus Orosius, who laboured to find out crimes and calamities in profane history, dwells with seeming pleasure on this description of Justin, but neither the
vehemence

PHILIP KING OF MACEDON.

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vehemence and acrimony of Demosthenes, nor the authentic historical remains of antiquity, have given any particulars of these pretended outrages: neither can they be reconciled to Philip's acknowledged good sense, and his constant attention to his future interest.

SECT. II.

THE late precaution of Athens soon became a general topic in Greece, and was variously received and represented from the variety of tempers, opinions, and interests. "How different," did Philip's favourers and partisans now cry out, "was this action of the Athenians from the glorious effort of Leonidas at the same place! That illustrious Spartan marched to Thermopylae to defend the Grecian temples from the ravages of the Barbarians; the Athenians, to defend the ravagers and impious profaners of the Delphian shrine, and to oppose a glorious zeal for the honour of Apollo; that divinity, whom they had the vanity to account among their ancestors; that divinity, whom they had ever consulted in all their difficulties; that divinity, by whose directions they had made so many conquests, and had gained such extensive empire. Before this time, this degenerated people had discovered their contempt for all things sacred; we all remem-

Justin, l. 8.
c. 2.

Meursii
Athen. Art.
l. 2. 12.
Aristid.
tom. 1.
p. 169.
Justin ut
supra.

Book II.

Diod. Sic.

1. 16.

sec. 57.

“ber, that, when [E] Iphicrates had intercepted
 “some statues of gold and ivory destined for the
 “service of the gods by Dionysius the Sicilian;
 “they ordered him to sell them publicly, tho’
 “dedicated to the Olympian Jupiter and Del-
 “phian Apollo : they have now repeated their
 “impiety ; an impiety the more shocking, when

[E] DIODORUS relates this transaction at large, as an instance of the present impiety of the Athenians. Iphicrates, a little before the commencement of the sacred war, had been at anchor with his fleet before the island of Corcyra, when the Sicilian vessels, which were laden with these statues, fell in with some of his ships, and were taken. When the admiral had examined the lading, he sent to his state to desire instructions how he was to proceed ; and received for answer, that the affairs of the gods were by no means his concern ; that a commander was to confine his attention to the support and maintenance of his forces. Thus encouraged, Iphicrates instantly converted the statues into money. Dionysius, to express his resentment at this impious outrage, addressed a letter to the Athenians, in which he purposely omitted the usual formulary *χαρις και εὐεργεσία*. The letter is preserved, and was expressed in this manner :

“Dionysius, to the senate and people of Athens.”

“HAPPINESS I cannot wish you with propriety ; as you
 “commit sacrilege against the gods, both by sea and land.
 “The statues which were sent by us, those holy offerings,
 “dedicated to the divinities, you have seized and destroyed,
 “in an open and impious violation of the reverence due to
 “the greatest gods, Delphian Apollo and Olympian Ju-
 “piter.”

“com-

“ committed, not by the ignorant and lawless, SECT. II.
 “ not by the rude and barbarous, but by people
 “ refined and polished, instructed and directed
 “ by wise and humane laws and institutions, by
 “ the example of their ancestors, and the me-
 “ mory of their former virtue.”

Thus did the honest and undesigning, who were sensible of the corruption of Athens, and the creatures of a subtle prince, who had received his pay, and were ever ready to echo his dictates, express their real or pretended sentiments. On the other hand it was urged, that “ the affectation of a zeal for religion, was but too
 “ plainly a pretence to conceal the dangerous
 “ designs which the extravagant ambition of the
 “ Macedonian had formed. The preservation
 “ of a just balance of power had been originally
 “ the great object of Athens, in the assistance which
 “ that state granted to the Phocians; the junction
 “ of Macedon and Thebes threatened Greece
 “ with many dangerous consequences; and com-
 “ manded all the attention of the Athenians, who,
 “ from the early ages of antiquity, had ever ap-
 “ peared the patrons and protectors of Grecian li-
 “ berty, the enemies of oppression, and the scourge
 “ of lawless and extravagant ambition. But their
 “ own immediate welfare, the very being of their
 “ state, had now called forth their arms, and en-

Book II. "gaged them to defeat the pernicious schemes
 "of Macedon. The total subversion of Athens,
 "and the sovereignty of Peloponnesus, were the
 "immediate objects of Philip's views. Caution,
 "vigilance, and vigour, were ever to be exerted
 "against so politic and enterprizing a prince; a
 "prince, who, from an obscure and contemptible
 "corner of the world, presumes to give law to all
 "his neighbours; leads out his armies, extends
 "his conquests, foment divisions, arms nation
 "against nation; equally the enemy of all, and
 "really attentive only to the establishment of
 "his own greatness. Ever since the famous vic-
 "tory of Plataea, no Barbarian had ever pre-
 "sumed to set his foot in Greece. Philip is
 "equally alien, equally barbarous with the Per-
 "sian, more the object of indignation, and much
 "more to be dreaded and suspected. The op-
 "position, therefore, now made to his audacious
 "attempt, was dictated by the same glorious
 "zeal for the common cause, which animated
 "Leonidas and his Spartans; and should be
 "received with equal gratitude, and held in
 "equal honour. The valour of the Athenians
 "had obliged the common enemy to retire in
 "shame and confusion; and defeated the de-
 "signs of the man, who, under pretence of suc-
 "couring the weak, and punishing the guilty,
 "sought only to erect his own power and sove-
 "reignty

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“reignty on the ruin of all, friends and enemies,
“allies and competitors.”

Sæc. II.

DIOPHANTUS, who had commanded the Athenian forces on this occasion, was received, at his return, with the same joy and acclamations, as if he had obtained a signal victory. Crowns were decreed to him, and prayers and sacrifices offered up to thank the gods for the deliverance of Athens. Yet, notwithstanding the retreat of Philip, the impression of their late danger still remained in full force: it was now but too apparent, that indolence and misconduct, on the part of Athens, had raised up an enemy capable of forming and executing the boldest designs. They saw their fatal error in neglecting and despising a power which should have been crushed in its infancy, and were at times, tempted to believe, that all opposition was now too late. They could scarcely persuade themselves, that Philip had abandoned his enterprize, but were possessed with the imagination of his appearing every moment at their gates. To guard their territories from invasion, to defend themselves against the menaces of Philip, which were now resounded in their ears, both by those who were employed to magnify his power, and by those who inveighed against his insolence, they posted a considerable

Demost.
de falsa
leg. sect. 30.

Dem. Phil.
I. sect. 2.

Book II.
 Phil. 1. sect.
 9.

siderable body of forces, either at the entrance of Attica, or at Thermopylae, (for interpreters are divided in explaining that passage in the first Philippic oration, which alludes to this transaction.) Their former solicitude, to prevent his entrance into Greece, makes it more probable that their forces were now stationed at the very streights; for it could hardly be conceived, that, if Philip returned, was allowed to pass through Thermopylae, and to unite with his allies in Boeotia, any body of forces, occasionally raised, and stationed ever so advantageously at the entrance of Attica, could possibly bear up against so formidable an inroad of two such united powers, or prevent them from bursting in, and over-running that country. It is but justice, therefore, to the penetration of this people, to believe, that, on this occasion, they took the most effectual precaution. Yet still their corruption appeared in this instance of timely zeal and vigour; for, instead of entrusting a service of such consequence to some citizen of worth and character, regularly chosen by the voices of the people, intrigue and cabal were suffered to procure the command for Menelaus, an obscure foreigner. It is indeed hard to think with Tour-reil, that this Menelaus was a natural brother to Philip, whom his jealousy had driven out of Macedon: or that the Athenians would have intrusted

intrusted their army to one so nearly allied to their enemy. The conjecture of Luccesini seems better founded, that he was some Phocian officer, who might have been recommended on this occasion, as from his knowledge of the country, where the forces were to be stationed, he might be supposed capable of posting them to the best advantage, and, from his interest there, might gain them provisions with greater ease and readiness.

SECT. II.
Not, in Phil.
1.

HAVING thus provided for the defence of their territories, their next care was to convene an assembly to deliberate on the means of correcting past errors, and controuling the ambitious schemes of their formidable rival. This was but resuming a subject, which had frequently engaged their attention. Every instance of ill success abroad, every motion and transaction of their enemies, was sure to raise a ferment in the Athenian assembly, where the pride of that people was flattered by the thought, that, thus convened, they decided the fate of states and nations, of enemies and allies, and where their orators acknowledged, and servilely stooped to the sovereign authority of the people; and either by condemning and inveighing against the conduct of those to whom their affairs were intrusted, or by defending the public measures, afforded

afforded them perpetual subjects of contest and debate, and frequently acquired an interest, which no suspicions of their want of integrity, and sometimes even avowed corruption could shake. At present they assembled with less pride, and less passion, than they had on some occasions discovered: instead of indignation at the conduct of Philip, they felt terror and dismay: instead of hearing their greatness, and glory, and power, resounded by their flattering leaders, they now found a counsellor in Demosthenes, who had courage to oppose their prejudices, and to display their errors and misconduct; and integrity and prudence to point out the measures necessary for their defence and security. This renowned orator now rose up, for the first time, against the Macedonian; and displayed those abilities, which, through the whole course of Philip's reign, proved the great obstacle to his designs.

Phil. i.
sec. i.

In the oration which he delivered on this occasion, and which is still extant among the invaluable remains of this illustrious Athenian, we find him introducing his sentiments with an apology for that zeal which prompted him (now but twenty-nine years old) to appear the foremost in the cause of his country, without regard to the precedence usually granted to the elder speakers.

speakers. They had frequently been heard upon the present subject, and the insufficiency of their counsels plainly appeared from this single circumstance, that it was a subject which the people now found themselves obliged to resume. The present melancholy state of their affairs he imputes not to any want of power and abilities, but to supineness and inaction; and from this cause of their distress, derives fair hopes and prospects of future fortune. He reminds them of their glorious and successful efforts to reduce the power, and curb the insolence, of Lacedæmon; and to regain that sovereignty which they had lost by the victory of Lyfander.

SECT. II.

Phil. i.
sect. 2.

“ If there be a man in this assembly” (thus doth he continue his spirited address) “ who
“ thinks that we must find a formidable enemy
“ in Philip, while he views, on one hand, the
“ numerous armies which surround him; and,
“ on the other, the weakness of the state thus
“ despoiled of its dominions; he thinks justly.
“ Yet let him reflect on this: there was a time,
“ Athenians! when we possessed Pydna, and
“ Potidaea, and Methonè, and all that coun-
“ try round: when many of those states, now
“ subjected to him, were free and independent,
“ and more inclined to our alliance than to his.
“ Had then Philip reasoned in the same manner,
“ How

Book II.

"How shall I dare to attack the Athenians,
 "whose garrisons command my territory, while
 "I am destitute of all assistance! He would
 "not have engaged in those enterprises, which
 "are now crowned with success; nor could he
 "have raised himself to this pitch of greatness.
 "No, Athenians! he knew this well, that all
 "those places are but prizes, laid between the
 "combatants, and ready for the conqueror:
 "that the dominions of the absent naturally de-
 "volve to those who are in the field; the pos-
 "sessions of the supine to the active and intrepid.
 "Animated by these sentiments, he overturns
 "whole nations; he holds all people in subjec-
 "tion: some, as by right of conquest: others,
 "under the title of allies and confederates: for
 "all are willing to confederate with those whom
 "they see prepared and resolved to exert them-
 "selves as they ought.

"AND if you (my countrymen) will now,
 "at length, be persuaded to entertain the like
 "sentiments; if each of you, renouncing all
 "evasions, will be ready to approve himself an
 "useful citizen, to the utmost that his station
 "and abilities demand; if the rich will be
 "ready to contribute, and the young to take
 "the field: in a word, if you will be your-
 "selves; and banish those vain hopes, which
 "every

“ every single person entertains, that while so
 “ many others are engaged in public business,
 “ his service will not be required ; you then (if
 “ Heaven so pleases) will regain your dominions,
 “ recal those opportunities your supineness hath
 “ neglected, and chastise the insolence of this man.
 “ For you are not to imagine, that, like a god, he
 “ is to enjoy his present greatness forever, fixed
 “ and unchangeable. No, Athenians! there are
 “ who hate him, who fear him, who envy him,
 “ even among those seemingly the most attached
 “ to his cause. These are passions common to
 “ mankind ; nor must we think that his friends
 “ only are exempted from them. It is true,
 “ they lie concealed at present, as our indolence
 “ deprives them of all resource. But let us
 “ shake off this indolence ! for you see how we
 “ are situated ; you see the outrageous arrogance
 “ of this man, who does not leave it to your
 “ choice, whether you shall act, or remain quiet ;
 “ but braves you with his menaces ; and talks
 “ (as we are informed) in a strain of highest ex-
 “ travagance ; and is not able to rest satisfied
 “ with his present acquisitions, but is ever in
 “ pursuit of further conquests ; and, while we
 “ sit down, inactive and irresolute, incloses us
 “ on all sides with his toils.

“ WHEN

BOOK II.

" WHEN therefore, O my countrymen! when
 " will you exert your vigour? when roused by
 " some event? when forced by some necessity?
 " what then are we to think of our present con-
 " dition? to freemen, the disgrace attending on
 " misconduct is, in my opinion, the most ur-
 " gent necessity. Or, say, is it your sole am-
 " bition to wander through the public places,
 " each enquiring of the other, What new ad-
 " vices? Can any thing be more new than that
 " a man of Macedon should conquer the Athe-
 " nians, and give law to Greece?—Is Philip
 " dead?—No, but in great danger.—How are
 " you concerned in those rumours? suppose he
 " should meet some fatal stroke; you would
 " soon raise up another Philip, if your interests
 " are thus regarded. For it is not to his own
 " strength that he so much owes his elevation;
 " as to our supineness. And, should some ac-
 " cident affect him; should fortune, who hath
 " ever been more careful of the state than we
 " ourselves, now repeat her favours, (and may
 " she thus crown them!) be assured of this,
 " that, by being on the spot, ready to take ad-
 " vantage of the confusion, you will every where
 " be absolute masters: but, in your present dis-
 " position, even if a favourable juncture should
 " present you with Amphipolis, you could not
 " take

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“take possession of it, while this suspense pre-
“ralls in your designs and in your councils.”

SECT. II.

From these bold and animated expostulations, he proceeds to lay down a plan of operation. Their force, he observes, was not sufficient to meet Philip in the field; they were to be guarded against his excursions; and, by depredations on the coast of Macedon, to confine his attention to the security of his own kingdom. For this purpose he recommends to them to prepare fifty ships of war, with transports and other necessary vessels for a body of horse, ten light vessels for a convoy, two thousand infantry, and five hundred cavalry, of which number five hundred foot and fifty horse to be citizens of Athens. He then computes the supplies necessary for this force, and proposes a scheme, in form, for raising them.

It doth not appear, that the spirit which animated this harangue, and the accurate knowledge of the interests of Athens, which the great speaker displayed, had that effect which might naturally have been expected from them. The people seem to have attended with pleasure and applause, without duly weighing the force of his remonstrances, or the wisdom of his counsels. Probably, the assistance they had already sent to

Phocis,

BOOK II.

Phocis, rendered them averse to new expences and new armaments; and, probably, Philip had his agents and partisans in the assembly, who, ever attentive to the service of a master by whom they were magnificently paid, recommended less vigorous measures, under various plausible pretences; which had but too much weight, as they flattered the indolence and unsurmountable aversion to public cares, which were ever predominant at Athens, notwithstanding any temporary interruptions and transient fits of zeal. The dispositions, the prejudices, the errors, and the corruptions of this people, were ever watched by Philip with the most attentive regard: while they were amused and deceived, his restless mind was secretly employed in meditating his revenge: the late sudden effort of their zeal was just sufficient to convince him, that they were to be regarded as his principal rivals; and that nothing but their opposition could raise up any material obstacles to those schemes, which his ambition, enlivened by success, was daily forming and extending: and the general weakness of their conduct encouraged him to hope that this opposition would, in the end, prove ineffectual; and that art and resolution would render him superiour to their power.

BOOK II. SECTION III.

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explained.—New commotions in Thessaly.—Quieted by Philip's arms and policy.—The elegance and magnificence of Philip's court.—He encourages men of genius.—Affords an asylum to unfortunate princes and nobles.—His behaviour to his subjects.—His administration of justice.—His gaiety and festivity. His companions.—Clisophus.—Menecrates.—The account of Theopompus examined.—Philip raises disorders in the island of Euboea.—Sends in his forces.—Plutarch's application to Athens.—Is opposed by Demosthenes.—The violence of the Athenians.—Character of Phocion.—He sails to Euboea.—Is distressed.—Gains a victory over Callias.—Drives out Plutarch.—Returns in triumph to Athens.

BOOK THE SECOND.

SECTION III.

THE sacred war still continued to rage in Greece, to harass and weaken the contending parties, and to prepare the way for the power of Macedon. Phayllus, the Phocian general, having been driven out of Boeotia by repeated defeats, led his forces into the territories of the Locrians, surnamed Epicnemidii, and there possessed himself of several cities. At Aryca, a town of considerable note in this district, he first found his progress checked; and as his arms could not readily subdue it, he entered into a secret conference with some traitors within the walls, who prevented the delay and danger of a formal siege, by betraying the town to the Phocians. Here he left a small garrison, lest he might too far weaken the main body of his army, and marched back to Phocis; when the Locrians, by means of some private intelligence, surprised the town which they had

BOOK II.
SECT. III.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 38.

Book II.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 58.
Herod.
Urania.
cap. 134.

so lately lost, and put the Phocian garrison to the sword. The news of this event determined Phayllus to enter once more into Locris, where he again invested Aryca with a considerable body, and led the rest of his army against Abae, a city of eminence in Phocis, where there was an ancient and splendid temple of Apollo, in which the god delivered his oracles; whose inhabitants had for ages paid, and still continued to pay him peculiar honours; and, from their veneration to the divinity, had refused to join with Phayllus and his Phocians in their irreligious attempts.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 38.

THE Boeotians thought themselves obliged to succour this place; and, marching with incredible diligence and expedition, fell by night upon the camp of Phayllus, defeated the Phocians with considerable slaughter, and, having ravaged and laid waste their territories with an uncontrouled fury, elevated by their success, and laden with booty, they returned into Locris to raise the siege of Aryca. But Phayllus, whom they fondly supposed to have been ruined beyond all recovery, instantly rallied and collected his forces; and, when the victorious army arrived at the town, they were surprised and mortified, by finding, that he had already joined the besiegers; and was so well prepared to give them

them battle, that, before they could be regularly formed in complete order, he fell furiously upon them; and, having gained a complete victory, took the city of Aryca, and rased it to the ground.

SECT. III.

THIS was the last military exploit of Phayllus, and the only one in which his arms had been crowned with victory. In some short time after, he was attacked by a consumption, which absolutely prevented him from action. He struggled for some time with his disorder, but, at length, was obliged to yield to the violence of it; and died in such excruciating torments, as made his death to be regarded by the religious, as the manifest judgment of heaven [A]. He named Phaleucus, the son of Onomarchus, for his successor, with directions, that, in consideration of his youth and inexperience, Mnaseas should

Diod. Sic.
l. 16;
sect. 38.

[A] THE heathen historians, who all express a serious regard to their religion, and a deep sense of the veneration due to the national worship, speak of all the events of this war, and all the calamities of the Phocians, in that manner. Pausanias (l. 10 p. 318.) makes Phayllus have sufficient warning of this his miserable end in a dream. Among the sacred offerings of the temple was an artificial skeleton of brass, said to have been deposited by Hippocrates the physician. The chief is said to have dreamed, immediately upon entering on his command, that his body was become exactly like to this figure.

Book II.

he appointed his coadjutor, an ancient friend of the family, a man well versed in arms, and in every respect capable of forming a great general. In some time after, the Bocotians, as if resolved to make a trial of this new general and his director, took advantage of the night, and fell on the Phocian camp with so much fury, that the whole army was thrown into the utmost disorder. Mnaseas, who exerted himself with due vigour to repel this unexpected attack, fell in the engagement, together with two hundred of the Phocians; and thus the young Phaleucus lost all the advantage of his counsels. This chief, now left to his own guidance, soon felt the fatal consequences of a precipitate valour. With all his cavalry he marched against that of the enemy, and came to an engagement before the city of Chaeronea, where he received a total overthrow, after a bloody and obstinate contest, in which a considerable number of his troops were slain.

AND now, while Thebes and Phocis were pursuing each other with such unrelenting fury, efforts were made by each in favour of their allies. The hostile intentions of Archidamus had been sufficiently declared against the Argians, whose independent condition he beheld with impatience and indignation; and against
the

the Megalopolitans, whose settlement he considered as the disgrace of his country, and the odious memorial of the triumphs of Epaminondas. The Thebans, on their part, were bound in honour to support the establishments of their illustrious general; and had, therefore, dispatched four thousand foot, and five hundred horse, under the command of their general Cephision, to the assistance of the Megalopolitans and Argians. Encouraged by this support, the Megalopolitans took the field, and pitched their camp near the sources of the Alpheus, so as to cover their city and territories: and here they received additional reinforcements from the Eleans, Messenians, and Sicyonians. The Eleans had no great military reputation, and were, at this time particularly, weakened by intestine disorders, which made Archidamus express his contempt of their preparations in the following Laconic letter:

Sect. III.
Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 39.

Pausan. in
Eliac.

“ Archidamus to the Eleans.”

Plut.
Apoph.

“ Peace is a valuable thing. Farewell.”

THE Spartans, on their part, were assisted by the Phocians, who, for this purpose, detached three thousand foot, and one hundred and fifty of the famous cavalry of Thessaly, who had


Book II.
Diod. l. 16.
sect. 39.

followed Pitholaüs: some of their Peloponnesian allies also united with them: and Archidamus took his station near Mantinea, in the presence of the enemy. The vicinity of the two armies made a general engagement to be regarded as inevitable; when Archidamus suddenly decamped, entered the territories of Argos, and seized the town of Orneum, which had engaged in an alliance with Megalopolis. The Argians were the first to oppose this attempt, but were soon defeated, with the loss of about two hundred men. The Thebans followed, and renewed the engagement, in full reliance on the superiority of their numbers; but the exacter order and discipline of the Spartan army supplied the deficiency of their force; the conflict was maintained with equal ardour on each side, till night put an end to it, and left the victory undecided; when the Argians, who had now experienced, and seem to have dreaded, the vigour of Archidamus, retired, and the rest of the allies also marched back to their particular cities. The Lacedaemonians, thus left masters of the field, made an inroad into Arcadia, where they stormed and plundered the city of Helisson, and then returned in triumph into Sparta.

IN

In this short respite from war, Olivier asserts, Sect. III.
 that we must necessarily fix the embassy of the
 Megalopolitans and Spartans to Athens, where
 each of these states pleaded their cause before
 the assembly, the one to gain assistance, the
 other to persuade the Athenians to continue
 neuter: on which occasion Demosthenes appear-
 ed the advocate for Megalopolis. Dionysius of
 Halicarnassus dates his oration for the Megalo-
 politans somewhat earlier; and an attentive
 perusal of the oration itself may possibly suggest
 some arguments to confirm us in the deference
 due to the accuracy of that critic. From its gene-
 ral tenour, it appears, that the application of
 the Arcadians was really made, at the first be-
 ginning of this quarrel, while the Lacedaemo-
 nians were as yet but preparing to attack them.
 But the learned reader may think the precise
 time, in which the oration was delivered, a
 matter not so worthy his attention, as the arti-
 fice, the delicacy, the insinuating address, the
 exact knowledge of the interests of Athens, of
 the dispositions, opinions, passions, and designs
 of the leading states, the penetration and ex-
 tensive policy, and all the qualifications neces-
 sary for an accomplished statesman, which are
 eminently displayed in the oration itself. Yet
 we must conclude, that his eloquence and abi-
 lities

In Epistola
ad Ammae.

BOOK II.  lities were unsuccessful, as Diodorus does not mention the Athenians among the people who sent succours to the Megalopolitans on this occasion.

THE hostilities, on each side, were now continued for some time longer. The allies, as hath been observed, retired from the scene of action; and the Thebans, in their retreat, met with a party of the Lacedaemonians, near the river Telphusa, commanded by Anaxander; and, after an engagement sufficiently obstinate and bloody, took the general prisoner, together with sixty of his soldiers. This success determined them not to hasten their march: they again attacked two different detached parties of the enemy with repeated success; but in a more general engagement, which these skirmishes produced, the Lacedaemonians gained a victory, which put an end to the campaign: and, a truce being now concluded between Sparta and Megalopolis, the Thebans had no opportunity of retrieving their late disgrace, but retired into Boeotia with the remains of their army.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 39.

HISTORY doth not assign any cause for this appearance of moderation in the Spartans, in granting a truce to a distressed enemy, deserted by their allies, and weakened by the taking of Helisson.

Helisson. The French historian conjectures, that they might have been determined to this by the arrival of some succours from Athens, in favour of Megalopolis. But, as to any such succours, history is silent; and, if it be allowed to indulge conjectures, his apprehensions of Philip may, not without reason, be supposed to have influenced the king of Sparta on this occasion. The Macedonian Prince's early connexions with Epaminondas, gave him a plausible pretence of interfering to support the establishments of that renowned commander: and we shall find, in the course of this narration, that in a little time after this, Philip had acquired considerable interest among the enemies of the Spartan power in Peloponnesus. Demosthenes * asserts, in his oration on the Crown, that, from the time when these commotions first broke out in that country, he had a particular attention to them, and took care to gain over a number of partisans in every city, who were employed to keep up and to foment all disorders. He was concerned, saith Olivier *, more particularly than any other, to prevent the execution of that plan which Archidamus had formed. It would have deprived him of some maritime towns, which he had gained in Thrace; the cities which he possessed in Thessaly must have been given up; and his connexions there

SECT. III.

Olivier, l. 6.
p. 236.

* sect. 7.

* ut supra.

Book II.

entirely broken. The Olynthians, whose ruin he now meditated, and who, on their part, hated and suspected him, must have recovered those places in their district, which Lacedaemon had kept possession of, since the late war with Olynthus, or had rendered independent. It might therefore have been naturally urged by his creatures and agents in Argos and Arcadia, that the most effectual method to curb the pride and insolence of Sparta, was to seek the assistance and protection of the king of Macedon. To defeat a design of this nature, from which Archidamus might have foreseen very momentous consequences, it was obvious to amuse those people by a truce, and the hopes of a future accommodation of all differences. Philip, on his part, though exceedingly desirous of interfering in these disputes, could not think it necessary to prevent the present suspension of them. Archidamus, he knew, however he might dissemble at present, would not willingly resign his scheme. The different powers would act with vigour sufficient to prevent the execution of some part of it; but, as every one of them had some favourite articles in this scheme, which they were desirous of preserving, it was not possible they could act in concert: the contending parties would mutually weaken each other; and the
Arcadians,

Arcadians, and other enemies of Sparta, at last find themselves obliged to have recourse to Macedon. Some fortunate event might hereafter open him a passage into Peloponnesus, where his arms and policy could not fail to decide their quarrels, and make him equally the master of all the contending parties, while he only affected a tender concern for the oppressed, and an honourable zeal for defending the establishments of Epaminondas.

NOR was it less consistent with his views, to suffer the sacred war to waste and harass the several combatants; particularly, as the late opposition of the Athenians, prevented any impeachment of the sincerity of his zeal for religion. The Thebans, when the truce granted to Megalopolis obliged them to return into Boeotia, found that country wasted by the Phocians. Phaleucus, their chief, had just now reduced the city of Chaeronea, when the Thebans came opportunely to drive him from his conquest, and to revenge the depredations he had made in their territories, by an inroad into Phocis. Here the whole country was exposed to their fury: they ravaged and laid waste the lands, the houses, the possessions of the wretched Phocians; and having taken and plundered some cities

Diod. Sic.
l. 16. sect.
39.

Book II.

cities of less note, returned into their own country, laden with the spoils of the enemy. All this variety of fortune served effectually to weaken the contending parties. The Phocians, quite exhausted by their losses in the field, as well as by their conquests in Boeotia, where they were obliged to maintain numerous garrisons, appeared ready to sink under the attack of the first powerful enemy who should declare against them. The Thebans, equally exhausted, saw some of their most considerable cities in the hands of an enemy, whom they were unable to dispossess; and who, on their part, were obliged to exert all their efforts to maintain these posts. Military persons were, at the same time, allured from every part of Greece, by large pay, and the fair prospects of advantage, to shed their blood in the service of Phocis. And thus this fatal contest not only served to harass those who were immediately engaged in it, but proved the means of draining away, and gradually consuming, the natural strength of every Grecian state. No wonder, therefore, that Philip did not appear extremely solicitous to put an immediate end to this war. His designs were, by this time, become great and extensive; he had penetration and sagacity to see through the incidents and transactions which might

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might facilitate them; and temper and resolution to wait, with patience, the favourable moment for carrying them into execution.

Sacr. III.

It was not the least part of the distress which the Thebans now experienced, that their finances were entirely exhausted, by the expence of constant armaments. To the king of Persia, therefore, they applied; and, by their ambassadors, entreated this prince, by whose opulence the Greeks were on many occasions obliged, to relieve their present necessities by a sum of money. Artaxerxes Ochus, who now reigned in Persia, was, at this time, meditating an expedition against Egypt, where he had, some time since, fought with ill success: and had sent to the leading powers of Greece to desire assistance. The Athenians and Spartans declared their resolution of adhering to the interests of Persia, but, at the same time, pleaded their inability to send any troops [B]. The Argians, on the other

Diod. Sic. l.
16. sect. 40.

Sect. 44.

[B] THEY had already sent out Phocion, with some ships, to the assistance of Hidriaeus, king of Caria, who was endeavouring to oblige Cyprus to return to its obedience to the king of Persia. Hidriaeus was the successor of Artemisia, so famous on account of her grief for the death of her husband. Possibly this reputation had no other foundation than in the imaginations of those men of genius who disputed the

other hand, supplied the great king with three thousand men, commanded by Nicostratus, a general

the prize in the games, which she exhibited in honour of Mausolus. This Mausolus was a weak prince, governed entirely by his wife; to whom the ambassadors of foreign states were always privately instructed to address themselves. It was she who had been the means of kindling up the social war: nor did she, after her husband's death, appear to act as a widow totally inconsolable, and regardless of the world. Vitruvius hath preserved the memory of a stratagem which she employed to possess herself of Rhodes. The Rhodians held a private intelligence in the city of Halicarnassus, the capital of Caria; and hoped that the inhabitants would willingly unite with them, in order to shake off the yoke of a woman. In these expectations they sent a fleet thither. But Artemisia, having discovered the plot, ordered the inhabitants to range themselves under their walls, and to receive the Rhodians as their expected deliverers. Deceived by this appearance, the Rhodians landed, and left their ships deserted: they were surrounded and cut to pieces. Artemisia, who had ordered her gallies to fall down some canals which communicated with the port, and to seize their ships, now set sail in the Rhodian fleet, and appeared before their city. It was supposed by the people of Rhodes, that their own army had returned victorious from Caria. The Carians were masters of their city before the fatal mistake was perceived: where Artemisia changed the form of government, from a democratical, to that of an oligarchy. This produced an application to the Athenians from the people of Rhodes, in order to engage that state to restore their ancient government. The causes of complaint, which they had given to the Athenians in the course of the social war, it was hoped, would not be remembered; or, at least, would

general equally eminent for his vigour and abilities; though his great qualities were, in some sort,

would not prevent the Athenians from embracing the honourable occasion of re establishing a government of the same form with their own. Demosthenes pleaded the cause of Rhodes, in the oration on this subject, which is still extant among his remains. He begins with felicitating his countrymen, that their enemies were now obliged to implore their assistance against those who had engaged them to declare against Athens. He freely acknowledges the misconduct of the Rhodians, and confesses that they are themselves unworthy of that protection which they are imploring; but, at the same time, addresses himself entirely to the generosity of his countrymen, which hitherto had ever proved the great resource of the distressed, without regard to their deserts. He expresses a greater dependence on the misfortunes of the Rhodians, than on their gratitude; and, to give more elevation to the sentiments of his hearers, artfully mixes with his reflections the praises of Athens, and urges the advantages which this state must derive from increasing the number of democracies. He labours to dissipate any apprehensions from Caria or Persia, which might prevent the Athenians from acting, on this occasion, agreeably to the dictates of generosity; and concludes with recommending the noble conduct of their ancestors to their present imitation. There is one particular stroke in the oration with respect to Philip, which deserves a place here: —“Some of you, I find,” saith the orator, “treat Philip with disregard, as if beneath their attention; and yet express the greatest apprehensions of the KING, as an enemy who must prove highly dangerous to those who may be the objects of his resentment. If then we are never to oppose the one, because he is weak; and if we are to

Book II.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 40.

fort, disgraced by a wild and whimsical affectation of imitating the garb and manners of Hercules, and appearing in the field armed with his club, and cloathed in his lion's hide. The Thebans also detached one thousand of their infantry, under the command of Lacrates, one of their generals; and the Persian, in return for this service, granted their present request, and immediately supplied them with three hundred talents. Yet this could not enable them to gain any material advantage over Phocis. A whole year was wasted in mutual incursions and depredations, or, at most, some slight actions, which history hath not thought worthy of being particularly recorded.

Demost.
Phil. 1.
sect. 2.

DURING this interval, Philip was seated in his own kingdom, watching the several commotions which raged all around him; strictly observant of the errors and distresses of every state and government, concerting his designs, and preparing for new conquests. His forces, and par-

“submit, in every instance, to the other, because he is formidable; against whom, ye Athenians, shall we ever draw the sword?”

THESE particulars, which I have contented myself with translating from Olivier, and which he hath inserted in the body of his history, I thought might, with greater propriety, be presented to the reader in the form of a note.

ticularly

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particularly his marine, were constantly receiving some accession or improvement; and new creatures were every day, and in every community, gained over to his interest, by the power of gold, whose business it was to raise confusion and disorder, to inflame all contests and animosities, to magnify, or depreciate, the power of their master, to represent him as formidable or weak, just as his service required them to inspire terror or security; to misguide public councils, to betray public trusts, and to practise all the infamous arts of men, attentive only to gratify a sordid luxury or avarice, and regardless of the most sacred duties of civil life.

SECT. III.

De Corona,
sect. 7. &
alibi passim.

ABOUT this time, if we may depend on the copies of the abbreviator of Trogus, Philip made an excursion into Asia, where he reduced the whole province of Cappadocia to the power of Macedon, having first treacherously seized and put to death some neighbouring kings. We find, saith * Olivier, that Theopompus particularly and largely described this province, which seems to imply, that Philip, whose actions he related, must have had some intercourse with Cappadocia, or that it was the scene of some of these his actions. But whether those, whom Justin calls the neighbouring kings, were satraps who had revolted from the king of Persia,

Just. l. 3.
c. 3.

* Liv. 7.
p. 268.

Book II.

Faber,
Tourelle,
Olivier.

or governors of a part of Pontus, who supported themselves independent of that monarch, is left entirely to uncertain conjecture. As the records of antiquity have not preserved the least traces or circumstances of an expedition so remarkable as this must have been, the learned have been induced to suppose, that the copies of Justin are corrupted; and, instead of Cappadociam, we should read Chalcidem, or Chalcidicam. If so, the corruption must have been very early; for we find Paulus Orosius copying after the common reading. And although such an amendment, by supposing Justin to refer to his attempts on Euboea, or his war against the Olynthians (of which we shall have immediately occasion to speak) at once removes the difficulty which arises from the silence of other writers; yet another difficulty remains which might have deservedly been considered by those who suggested or adopted this amendment; and that is, that neither in the territories of Olynthus, nor yet in Euboea, can we find those *finitimos reges*, whom Philip treated with so much cruelty and treachery. If we suppose first, that Justin is relating his invasion of the Olynthian territories, and his reduction of the Chalcidian region; then, by those neighbouring kings, we must understand the kings of Thrace. But Philip's conduct to those princes, whatever it was, does
not

not appear to have been at all connected with this expedition; to have at all contributed (directly) to its success, or even to agree with it in point of time. And as to Euboea, though Chalcis, and its other cities, had their distinct governors and petty tyrants, yet we shall find the power, which Philip gained in these cities, was by no means purchased by the blood of these governors. But, without further anticipating this history, let us leave these matters in their original obscurity, and return to this prince's conduct in his own kingdom, where we may pronounce, with more certainty, that he resided for some time, waiting the effects of his secret machinations, and revolving his schemes of greatness.

ARTS and elegance were but little known or cultivated in Macedon before the reign of Philip, when the poverty, the weakness, and barbarousness of that country, confined the attention of its princes and inhabitants to the bare necessities for their subsistence and security. But Philip had taste, and now possessed riches to adorn and polish his kingdom; nor did he want the due attention both to its strength and splendour. Able architects, and skilful engineers, were invited to embellish, and to fortify, the several parts of Macedon. Temples, pala-

Just. l. 3.
c. 3.

ces, theatres, now began to rise in all his cities; and, as artifice and policy had ever some share in all parts of this prince's conduct, under pretence of being the better enabled to erect these costly edifices, he had recourse to a scheme with which later ages have been well acquainted. His emissaries were dispatched through all Greece, where they solicited the men of affluence in every state, and, by promises of large returns of interest, engaged them to lend their money to the king of Macedon. Numbers were found, whose avaricious expectations, or whose vanity in obliging a prince who condescended to request their assistance, prompted them to empty all their hoards of wealth into the coffers of Philip. And, if we may believe Justin, the expectations of these unwary men were fatally disappointed, and they themselves reduced to beggary and ruin. He asserts, that neither their interest nor principal were ever paid; but that, when these proprietors came to Macedon to solicit their several demands, after many delays, they were at length threatened with the royal displeasure, and obliged to retire. It cannot reasonably be supposed, that this premeditated breach of trust should have escaped the notice of Demosthenes, who represented all Philip's actions in the worst and strongest light. Yet we find him quite silent on a subject, which must

must have afforded such an ample field for his severity. It seems therefore more reasonable to attend to those who represent the present schemes of Philip, as partly intended to conceal those pensions which the interest of his affairs required him to distribute. These were received by numbers in every public assembly; and it was more honourable, both for him who gave, and for those who accepted them, to disguise these pensions under the name of debts. They to whom he gave his own money, and they to whom he paid high interest for the sums he borrowed, were indeed equally obliged, and, of necessity, equally attached to him; the one for fear of losing his pay; the others to secure that property which they had deposited in his hands. Besides, the fair pretence of transacting business, and taking care of their private affairs, enabled his partisans to appear at any time in Macedon, and to concert their secret practices without suspicion; as we may hereafter have occasion to observe.

Sect. III.

Olivier,
l. 7. p. 250.

BUT the attention of this prince was, for some time, diverted by new commotions, which began to rise in Thessaly. Here the fickle inhabitants became impatient for new revolutions. They complained, that Philip had but expelled their former tyrants to establish himself in their

Olymp. 107.
Y. 4.

Dem. Olyn.
3. sect. 8.

Book II.

Olyn. 1.
sect. 6.Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 52.

place: they actually opposed him in an attempt to fortify Magnesia, and clamoured loudly for the restitution of that city, and of Pagasae, where he still maintained his garrisons. Their ports and harbours, they cried, were only made subservient to the interests of Macedon, instead of enriching the natural and original proprietors; and urged the necessity of confining these advantages to themselves, and excluding those, who, whatever their pretence had been, really appeared indifferent to the interests of Thessaly; and, notwithstanding their pretended zeal, suffered the Phocians to harass them and the other confederates, without that vigorous interposition which they had been made to expect. Pitholaüs, encouraged by these dispositions of his countrymen, and aided by Phocis, once more appeared at Pherae, and asserted his ancient title. Philip was equally concerned to regain the affections of the Thessalians, and to oppose the open force of Pitholaüs. He therefore marched to Pherae, obliging his soldiers to observe the exactest discipline, and declaring, that his sole design was to dispossess the tyrant. This was effected without any violence; for Pitholaüs, incapable of opposition, instantly disappeared at the approach of Philip, who was now left at liberty to make such further dispositions in this country as might secure the affections of
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the people. He assured them, with all the appearance of a warm and sincere friendship, that he really intended, and that his affairs would soon permit him, to give them up entire possession of Magnesia; that the sacred war should be the principal object of his attention; that the Thessalians, and their confederates, should be freed from all the expence and burden of this quarrel, the final decision of which nothing but the unjust suspicions of Athens had prevented: that all his forces, and all his treasures, were devoted to this righteous cause; and that the enemies of Thessaly should soon experience the sincerity of these his declarations. Thus did his artifice calm the jealousies of this people, who resigned themselves once more, with full confidence, to the promises which Philip freely lavished, regarding them only as expedients; and, having thus diverted and allayed a storm which might have proved dangerous, he returned to pursue the means of increasing the lustre and magnificence of his own kingdom.

Sect. III.
Olym. 1.
sect. 3.
of first
book

PHILOSOPHERS, poets, actors, musicians, men of genius, and artists of every kind, were received, caressed, and rewarded, at the court of Macedon. If a man of merit, in any part of Greece, suffered by the caprice, neglect, or envy of his countrymen, he was sure to be received

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Edox II

Edwin. de

fals. Reg.

sect. 10.

cam Schol.

ed by Philip with the distinction due to his abilities. Thus when Leosthenes, an Athenian eminent for his eloquence, was driven from his own country, by the envy of his enemies, or the suspicions which the people were made to entertain of his integrity; he found such effectual protection, such marks of affection, and respect from Philip, as made his countrymen ashamed of their conduct; and taught them to regret their error, in giving their enemy a citizen of so much merit. But what seems still a greater proof of the reputation which this prince had already acquired, and served to extend and to increase it, was, that unfortunate princes and nobles crowded to his court, and there found a secure asylum. When Egypt was at length subdued by Ochus, and Nectanebus obliged to abandon his dominions, this prince is said to have taken refuge, not in Ethiopia, as *Diodorus relates, but in Macedon, with the only prince whom he thought capable of protecting him against the Persian: and here he was received and entertained with such intimate affection and confidence, that suspicions were suggested of an unwarrantable correspondence between him and queen Olympias. Hence authors, who were inattentive to the period of time in which Nectanebus could have come to Macedon, have supposed, that to him Alexander

*1. 16.

sect. 51.

Solin, c. 14.

der really owed his birth; and hence all the fancies of less ancient and authentic writers, and the accounts of those magical arts by which they suppose that this prince gained the affections of Olympias. But, whatever may be objected against the residence of Nectanebus at Macedon, it is certain, that Artabazus and Memnon, two rebellious satraps (the one of whom had for a long time maintained a war against his master, and the other afterwards proved the most dangerous enemy to Alexander) lived with their families at Pella, supported and protected by Philip, until Mentor the Rhodian, who had done the Persian great military services, interceded for these his kinsmen, and made their peace.

SECT. III.

Glycas.
Cedrenus.
Syncellus.
Chronogr.

Diod. Sic. l.
16. sect. 51.

To his own subjects Philip appeared to act with that tenderness and moderation, that affability and condescension, which rendered him infinitely dear to them, notwithstanding all the toils and distresses, by which they were continually harassed and wasted, under so warlike and enterprising a prince. His ears were ever open to their complaints, and every day, before he gave audience, an officer was employed to remind him in form, that HE WAS MORTAL; thus did he contrive to affect an appearance of humility; and, at the same time, to remind his

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his subjects of his real greatness, to give them high ideas of his elevation as a prince, and to assure them of his tender feelings as a man, and just concern for their welfare.

Plot. in
Apoph.

It once happened, that a poor woman appeared before him to demand an audience; and, according to the custom of Macedon, to request, that he would hear and determine her suit, which had been long depending, and which various engagements had obliged him to postpone. Still he pleaded his embarrassments, and carelessly put her off to some time of greater leisure. Provoked at these repeated delays, she now answered boldly: "If you cannot find time to do me justice, divest yourself of your office; cease to be a king." He at once conceived the full force of this remonstrance, which a just indignation had extorted from this oppressed creature; and, far from being shocked or displeased at her freedom, he instantly heard and decided her suit. He acknowledged, that to be a king and a judge was, in effect, the same: that the throne was strictly a tribunal, and not only gave him the power, but laid him under the inviolable obligation of distributing justice; and that to grant all the time and attention, necessary to so important an office was not a favour, but a duty which he owed to his subjects. All this, faith

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saith Monsieur Rollin, is contained in that expression, so simple, and, at the same time, so pregnant with good sense, *cease to be a king.* SECT. III.

WE have an instance also of his unbiassed regard to justice, in that noble answer which he made to a person who solicited him to exert his influence and authority in favour of a man, whose reputation, it was said, must be ruined by a sentence which was going to be pronounced against him. "I had rather," said Philip, "that he should lose his reputation, than that I should destroy my own." Nor in his quality, as a judge, did he assume any rigid severity, or austere appearance. On the contrary, his natural gaiety was sometimes suffered to break forth, as in the case of two notorious villains, who accused each other before him; one of whom he sentenced to be banished; and, when the other began to exult in his supposed victory, the king, with an affected gravity, pronounced that he should follow his adversary.

Plut. in
Apophth.

IN effect indeed, the illustrious warrior, and the wise and gracious prince, was no less distinguished by his wit and festivity, his ease and gaiety in private life. The distance and haughty retirement of Asiatic courts were utterly unknown in Macedon. Philip had those qualities which

Book II.

which could bear the test of a constant and familiar intercourse. He conversed with his nobles, and shared in their diversions and entertainments, with all the freedom of an equal. His visits to them were not announced in form: he oftentimes surprised them totally unprovided for his reception and entertainment. On one of these occasions, he is said to have relieved his host from his confusion and distress, by an artifice, which it may be thought beneath the dignity of history to have transmitted to us. The supper, to which he came uninvited and unexpected, appeared scarcely sufficient to satisfy the train which attended him. He ordered that it should be privately intimated to the guests, that a second and better course was soon to make its appearance. The expectation of more delicate entertainment made most of them eat less freely: the prince, and they who were in the secret, feasted fully, and afterwards indulged their mirth at the disappointment of the rest.

Plutarch.
in Apophth.

Demost.
Olynth. 1.
sect. 7.

BUT it is by no means honourable to the character of Philip, that, in these his hours of festivity, his companions are said to have been frequently chosen for the extravagance of their humours, the liveliness and bitterness with which they exposed each other to ridicule, and the ingeniousness,

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geniousness, and abject submission, with which they flattered their royal host. One Clisophus is recorded to have aped his master with such infamous servility, as to use but one eye, when Philip had lost one of his; and to halt, when Philip had been wounded in the leg. If the prince betrayed the least dislike of what he eat or drank, the countenance of the flatterer at once expressed the same sensations. With this he sometimes mixed an affectation of bluntness and rudeness, which rough disguise oftentimes conceals the most delicate flattery. When Philip one day upbraided him with his insatiable importunity. "Why then," said he, "do you allow me time to forget your favours?" And when he was upon some occasion particularly severe upon him, "a truce to your raillery," replied Clisophus, "if you expect that I should give you a good character at court."

SECT. III.

Athenae.
l. 6. p. 243.
Tourell.
not. in
Olynth, 1.

THE entertainment which he derived from the extravagance and follies of those with whom he conversed, appears from the story of Menecrates the physician. This man was mad enough to fancy himself Jupiter, and is said to have written a letter to Philip, conceived in these terms:

Athenae
l. 7. p. 239.

"Mene-

Menecrates Jupiter, to King Philip;
 "health!"

"You reign in Macedon. I am sovereign in
 physic. I save the sick. You destroy the
 healthy. Farewell."

To which Philip returned this answer

"King Philip, to Menecrates, wishes [c]
 "good sense!"

Athenae.
 l. 7. p. 289.

To expose his madness, Philip made a magnificent entertainment, to which Menecrates was invited. While the other guests indulged themselves in feasting and drinking, the physician was treated like an immortal, and entertained with perfumes and incense. The first transport of joy, at seeing his divinity thus acknowledged, made him, for a while, resign himself up to the delusion: hunger, at length, forced him to recollect his condition; and, quite tired of this exalted character, he abruptly left the company to flatter the humour of their prince, and ridicule this deity who was obliged to eat, in order to subsist.

[c] *Θιανότης Μενεκρατίου*. *Υμνισμὸς*. The spirit of this short epistle, which is also attributed to Agesilaus, consists in the equivocal signification of the word *θυιαίνω*; which is indiscriminately applied to soundness either of mind or body.

BUT

But flattery, servility, and absurdity, were not the worst of those qualities by which Philip's companions were distinguished, if the remains of those authors, who have written largely of his conduct, have been transmitted faithfully and exactly. In the choice of his courtiers and confidants, saith the historian Theopompus, as quoted by * Athenæus, "he consulted neither merit nor probity; Greeks and Barbarians were entertained by him indiscriminately, according to the degrees of their abandoned impudence and dissoluteness: and this infamous collection were called the friends of Philip. All his esteem, all his liberality, was confined to men plunged in debauch, and given up to the grossest excesses of a licentious life. What sorts of infamy, what kinds of vice, were they not guilty of? Some of them affected the exterior and deportment of the other sex, and, by their shocking commerce, might rather be called Philip's mistresses than his friends: equally abandoned to pollution and cruelty, to murder and prostitution. Enemies of honesty and good faith, and shamefully triumphing in perjury and perfidy. Nothing could escape their rapine, or satisfy their avarice. So that this collection of wretches, though not exceeding eight hundred men, enjoyed a greater revenue than ten thousand

Vol. I. X "Greeks,

Sæc. III.

* Lib. 4.
p. 167.
Lib. 6.
p. 260,
261.

BOOK II. "Greeks peaceably settled in the most fertile
"soil."

Photius bib.
in Art. The-
opompus.

THIS picture, shocking as it is, is yet said to be taken from an historian who flourished in the reigns of Philip and Alexander, who was connected with their friends, favoured by Alexander, and whose works were carefully collected and digested by the latter Philip, king of Macedon, to do honour to the memory of his illustrious predecessor. It is well known, that severity and acrimony were the peculiar characters of Theopompus: and such severity, when justly merited, Philip frequently received with the utmost patience and indulgence. Yet, in justice to this prince, it must be acknowledged, that the whole passage is quoted by Athenaeus from the forty-ninth book of the history of Theopompus; and that Diodorus * observes, that the last six books, from the forty-eighth to the fifty-fourth, are at least suspected [D]. The expression of Diodorus hath even been thought capable of a stronger signification, *That these last five books were entirely lost in his time.* These descriptions, which Athenaeus hath preserved,

* l. 16.
sect. 3.

[D] ἐξ ὧν πλεῖς διαφωροῦν, *De quinque tamen inter haec discerpatur. RHODUM. Ex quibus quinque interciderunt. G. J. VOSSIIUS.*

are rather stronger and more offensive than those of Demosthenes; and yet we know, that the orator was at least as remarkable for his severity, and for his force and art in aggravation, as the historian. We know too, that the colourings of oratory are generally higher and more striking than those of history. It must therefore be submitted to the judicious, whether there be not reason to suspect, that some later writer might have attempted to supply the loss of the last books of the history of Theopompus; and unwarily indulged his imagination, in enlarging on the descriptions of Philip's dissolute manners, which he found in the great Athenian. If the style of this historian, as * Suidas informs us, was so exactly imitated in his own days, as to deceive the Greeks, much more might succeeding ages receive such a spurious addition as the genuine remains of Theopompus: and if the exquisite taste of the Athenians could not immediately distinguish between the original and an ingenious copy; it is scarcely presumptuous to suppose, that Athenæus, Photius, and some other writers, might have been deceived.

* in *Avay.*
lib. 10.

BUT however this may be, or however Philip might, at some times, indulge himself in pleasure and sensuality, his attention was not one moment diverted from his grand designs. The

Book II.

Olymp.

107. Y. 4.

island of Euboea, and the territories of Olynthus, were now the immediate objects of his machinations. The situation and importance of Euboea, which he justly called the fetters of Greece, determined him to establish such an interest there, as might facilitate the conquest of the island; and, with Olynthus, he was now no longer obliged to dissemble; but resolved to seek an occasion of coming to an open rupture, as with the only powerful neighbouring state which he had left unsubdued; the only state, which, by uniting with the Athenians, might enable them to harass his frontiers, or distress his kingdom.

Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
31.

WHEN the Athenians had driven out the Thebans from Euboea, they left the island free, and demanded no other acknowledgment for their protection, than the advantage of those provisions, which the fertility of the soil enabled the islanders to supply. The country was divided into several distinct and independent states, and every city governed by those whose influence and address could raise them to the supreme command. These petty tyrants soon began to have frequent disputes and contests with each other, which Philip, no doubt, took care to foment, until they at last produced an open rupture. On this occasion, Philip espoused the interest of
Callias,

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Callias, the governor of Chalcis, (a city nearest to the continent, and, at this day, joined to it by a bridge) and sent Eurylochus, one of his generals thither with some forces and money. Plutarch, who commanded in Eretria, instantly dispatched ambassadors to Athens, expressing his apprehensions of the Macedonian power, and the consequences of Philip's interfering in the disputes of the island; intreating the protection of the Athenians, and offering to submit to their jurisdiction. They had, at this time, some forces in Euboea, under the conduct of one of their generals, named Hegesilaus, who supported the propositions of Plutarch, and answered for the integrity of his intentions.

SECT. III.

Demost de
falsa Leg.
sect. 82.
Schol.

DEMOSTHENES, though an inveterate enemy to the encroaching power of the Macedonian, opposed Plutarch, and advised his countrymen to reject his overtures. No other motive hath been assigned for this conduct, but a sovereign contempt which he entertained for Plutarch and the Eretrians. Possibly he might have conceived, and not without reason, that this tyrant was secretly in the interest of Philip; and that the whole affair was no more than the consequence of a scheme, concerted between them, to engage the Athenians in an expensive and inglorious

Dem. Orat.
de Pace.

rious expedition, so as to fatigue and exhaust them.

IF such was the opinion of Demosthenes, it was fully justified by the event: but, at present, he was single in this opinion; and it was received with so much indignation, that the people, who naturally suspected this apparent inconsistency with his former sentiments, and were particularly inflamed by the party, whose private designs made them earnest to engage their countrymen in this expedition, were scarcely restrained from tearing the orator to pieces. Demosthenes himself imputes this heat and violence to the latter cause. “You may remember,” saith he, in his oration on the Peace, “that during the disorders of Euboea, when “certain persons persuaded you to assist Plutarch, “and to engage in an inglorious and expensive war, I was the first, the only one, who “rose up to oppose it; and scarcely escaped their “fury, who, for a trifling gain, were urging “you to many highly pernicious measures.” But, although he thus affects to consider this fury as the mere artifice of intrigue and corruption, yet it is certain, that any opposition to the passions and reigning sentiments of the Athenians, was frequently received with impatience and resentment;

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ment: and never were they hurried on with greater ardour, than to this expedition. Men of distinction and eminence vied with each other in their zeal for the public service. They were for rushing, all at once, into the island, till Phocion, who was appointed general, obliged them to be content with serving by turns. The orator, Hyperides, who was bound to equip a single vessel, insisted on fitting out two; one on his own account, and one for his son. Nicetratus, the son of Nicias, embarked, notwithstanding a lingering disorder with which he was afflicted, and the recent loss of his two children, which he then felt in all its force. Eretemon, Mantitheus, Euthydemus, Cleon, Aristocles, Pamphilus, all illustrious Athenians, fitted out their galleys: the three last commanded them; the others ranked with the cavalry, where Æschines, of whom we shall hereafter speak, and Demosthenes also served. Thus did this people, whose impressions were ever violent, and who always acted in extremes, rush on to an expedition calculated to serve the purposes of Philip.

Sect. III.

Plutarch in
Ora. Vit.
p. 349.

Demost. in
Midiam.
p. 403.

Æschin. de
falsa Leg.
sect. 51.
Dem. ut su-
pra.

THEIR forces landed at Eretria, where affairs appeared in a much worse condition than had been imagined. The troops of Philip were so disposed as to command every advantageous

Plut. in
Phocion.

Book II.

Æchines
in Ctesiph.
sect. 32.

post. He had sent in but few Macedonians. The greatest part of his force was formed of auxiliaries, who rather appeared to be employed and paid by Chalcis, than as mercenaries in the service of Philip. With these was also joined a large body of Phocians, (though enemies of Macedon, and allies of Athens) engaged by ampler pay than they received at home: and Plutarch himself gave many indications of disaffection and treachery. Those whom they came to relieve, were found equally corrupted, and equally the enemies of Athens with those whom they were to engage. Thus was the snare discovered: but, happily, the abilities of their leader extricated them from the danger.

Plot. in
Phocion.

THIS man would have done honour to the early and least corrupted times of the Athenian state. His manners were formed in the academy upon the models of the most exact and rigid virtue. It was said, that no Athenian ever saw him laugh or weep, or deviate, in any instance, from the most settled gravity and composure. He learned the art of war under Chabrias; and frequently moderated the excesses, and corrected the errors, of that general: his humanity he admired and imitated; and taught him to exert it in a more extensive and liberal manner. When he had received his directions to sail, with twenty

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ships,

ships, to collect the contributions of the allies and dependent cities; "why that force?" said Phocion; "if I am to meet them as enemies, it is insufficient; if I am sent to friends and allies, a single vessel will serve." He bore the severities of a military life with so much ease, that, if Phocion ever appeared warmly clothed, the soldiers at once pronounced it the sign of a remarkably bad season. His outward appearance was forbidding, but his conversation easy and obliging; and all his words and actions expressed the utmost affection and benevolence. In the popular assembly, his lively, close, and natural manner of speaking, seemed, as it were, the echo of the simplicity and integrity of his mind; and had frequently a greater effect than even the dignity and energy of Demosthenes; who called him "the pruner of his periods." He studied only good sense and plain reasoning, and despised every adventitious ornament. In an assembly, when he was to address the people, he was surprised by a friend wrapped up in thought. "I am considering," said he, "whether I cannot retrench some part of my intended address." He was sensible of the ill conduct of his countrymen, and ever treated them with the greatest severity. He defied their censures, and so far did he affect to despise their applause, that, at a time when his sentiments extorted their approbation, he turned about, in surprise,

Book II.

surprise, and asked a friend, "if any thing
"weak or impertinent had escaped him." His
sense of the degeneracy of Athens made him
fond of pacific measures. He saw the designs
of Philip, but imagined that the state was too
corrupted to give him any effectual opposition.
So that he was of the number of those men,
who, according to Demosthenes, in his third
Philippic oration, "gave up the interests of the
"state, not corruptly or ignorantly, but from
"a desperate purpose of yielding to the fate of a
"constitution thought to be irrecoverably lost."
He was, of consequence, ever of the party
opposite to Demosthenes; and, having been
taught by experience to suspect the popular
leaders, considered his earnestness to rouse the
Athenians to arms, as an artifice to embroil the
state, and, by that means, to gain an influence
in the assembly. "Phocion!" said Demosthe-
nes, "the people, in some mad fit, will cer-
"tainly sacrifice thee to their fury." "Yes!"
replied he, "and you will be their victim,
"if ever they have an interval of reason." Yet
they often prevailed on him to act against his
judgment, though never to speak against his
conscience. He never refused or declined the
command, whatever might be his opinion of
the expedition. Forty-five times was he chosen
to lead their armies, generally in his absence;
and

and ever without the least application. They Sect. III. knew his merit; and, in the hour of danger, forgot that severity with which he usually treated their inclinations and opinions.

THE present occasion demanded all his abilities. Pompous assurances of the assistance and concurrence of the Euboean states had determined him to lead but a moderate number of forces into the island. He now saw the vanity of these expectations: nor were his soldiers duly obedient to military discipline. Immediately after the descent, numbers of his cavalry quitted him and dispersed; but these he would, by no means, recal or wait for: "all that could be of real service," he observed, "continued with him: the mutinous and disobedient would not only prove useless and ungovernable themselves, but impede and corrupt others. And, as they are conscious of their own misconduct, they will be the less apt (said he) to misrepresent or calumniate us at our return."

Plutarch. in Phocion.

THUS were the Euboeans much superiour in numbers, an inconvenience which Phocion determined, if possible, to remedy by the advantage of situation. The Euboeans are celebrated by Homer for their firm and close manner of engaging. They valued themselves on verif-
ing

Deon II.

Plutarch, in
Phocion.

ing this elogium; and, by a law, which Strabo mentions to have been engraven on a column in the midst of the island, forbade the use of missile weapons; which they never employed, at least in their civil wars. This made Phocion chuse for the situation of his camp, an eminence near the plain of Tamynas, which it was probable the enemy would occupy, and separated from it by a piece of rough and rocky ground, inclosed with a deep ditch. Here he intrenched himself, and waited the approach of Callias, who encamped on the opposite plain, and exerted all his efforts to surround him. Some days he remained besieged in his camp: the news was brought to Athens; and reinforcements were decreed. In the mean time the enemy prepared for a general assault. As they advanced, Phocion ordered his men to stand to their arms, while he himself went to sacrifice: in which, either his religion, or artifice, engaged him for some time. His soldiers began to be impatient for the charge: but, as he observed on this or a like occasion, "They could not then make him valiant, nor he make them wise." Plutarch, who probably saw his design, and was willing to defeat it, began to utter many insinuations to the disadvantage of the general's courage; and, in a pretended fit of zeal, charged the enemy himself at the head of the auxiliaries.

When

PHILIP KING OF MACEDON.

When the cavalry saw this, they forgot the orders of their leader, rushed out without forming, and spurred on against the enemy. Pharaoh's attack was weak and fallacious: he fled at once, and, falling back upon the horse, spread terror and confusion among them: several were killed, and the rest reached the camp in the utmost disorder. The Chalcidians, in their turn, pursued with a rash and intemperate ardour: and, in full confidence of the victory, marched up boldly to the intrenchments, and began to level them. Phocion now put an end to his sacrifice: the enemy was engaged in an uneven and disadvantageous ground: he sallied out with his infantry: made great havoc among them; and quickly drove them to the plain they had at first occupied. Here he halted, to give time for his cavalry to rally: and, having collected round him the bravest of his forces, fell furiously on the center of the Chalcidians. The fight was bloody and obstinate, and Phocion in the utmost danger of being overpowered by numbers, when Cleophanes, a gallant Athenian, who, by this time, had formed the cavalry on a plain which had been used for a horse-course, charged the right wing of the enemy. This wing was quickly broken; the center gave way, and the victory was complete. It was observed,

that

Sicron

Plutarch. in
Phocion.
Æschin. in
Ctesiph.
sect. 32.

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Demost. in
Midiam.P. 399.
Æschin. de
falsa Leg.
sect. 53.

that Demosthenes was by no means the first to return to the charge. He was even accused as a deserter of his rank. Æschines indeed behaved with an intrepidity which was honoured and rewarded; and was appointed, by Phocion, to bring the news of this victory to Athens.

Plutarch, in
Phocion.

THE conduct of Plutarch, in the late engagement, rendered him justly suspected. And some further practices and intelligences, in which he was discovered, or the declaration and open avowal of his attachment to the Macedonian interest, determined Phocion to treat him as an enemy. He drove him out of the island, and then proceeded to attack the fort of Zaratra, situated advantageously on that part of the island which projects, as it were, into an isthmus, so as to command the sea on each side. The garrison surrendered, but Phocion would not suffer any one of the Greeks to be made a prisoner: "lest the Athenians," said he, "should at some time be inflamed by their popular leaders, and, in a sudden fit of fury, wreak their vengeance on them."

Demost. in
Midiam.
p. 408.
Plutarch, in
Phocion.

THUS had Philip the mortification to find his secret practices, for this time, ineffectual. The expedition ended to the immortal honour of the illustrious

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illustrious Athenian, who re-embarked at Styra, with his victorious army; and, with all his ships collected and drawn up in order of battle, crowned with garlands, and enlivened by the sound of flutes, with which the rowers kept time, entered the port of Athens, amidst the joyful acclamations of his soldiers and fellow-citizens.

SECT. III.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Sect. III.



illustrious Athenian, who re-embarked at Sivas, with his victorious army, with all his ships collected and drawn up in order of battle, crowned with oak-leaves, and delivered by the found of force, with which the towers kept him, entered the port of Athens, amidst the joyful acclamations of his soldiers and fellow-citizens.



END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.